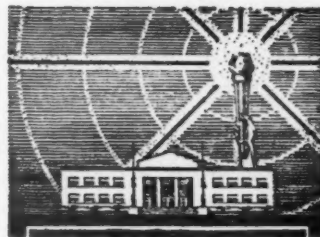


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The Social Studies

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As the Editor Sees It

In this space last month we outlined briefly a problem common to most secondary schools. It was the problem of how to interpret the work of the high school to that portion of the public which employs our product. We pointed out that the present-day high school curriculum is so broad, so flexible and so far removed from the traditional one of a generation ago that the term "high school graduate" no longer has a definite meaning in relation to educational achievement. The employer who hires a modern graduate may very possibly gain a well-informed, alert and intelligent employee; but he may, on the other hand, acquire a pupil who is so deficient in fundamental skills and learning ability that he could not possibly have received a diploma in the schools of twenty or twenty-five years ago. What is the employer to think? How can he be guided so that he can make basic assumptions about high school graduates?

Most educators today, and especially those engaged in the field of guidance and curriculum, hold that it is the secondary school's duty to keep youth in school until about the age of 18 if possible; that to do this, the curriculum should be tailored to their needs and interests. We do not say that this is wrong; certainly it is far better in most cases for a 17-year-old boy to be in school than to be earning fifty or sixty dollars a week which he doesn't need. But we do feel that the effort which schools are making to provide a curriculum that will not drive away the dull, the lazy or the indifferent student before he graduates puts both themselves and employers in a difficult relationship.

An analysis was recently made of the curriculum of a four-year high school of excellent standing which requires 80 credits (16 Carnegie units) for a diploma. It was found that, without taking any unusual combination of subjects, it was possible for a pupil to earn the 80 credits by passing only 13 major subjects,

and that of these 13 majors, only *two* (American History and Problems of Democracy) had been given in their present form in that school as recently as ten years ago! The remaining majors were either so-called "life-adjustment" courses or were new courses in English, languages, mathematics and science introduced to meet the capacity or ambition of the poor learner. The school's holding power has materially increased over the ten year period, and many boys and girls have been retained through the four years who would certainly have dropped out had it not been for the modified curriculum available to them. But do employers understand the situation? And if they do, how can they determine before employing an applicant, whether his diploma represents much more than attendance at high school for four years?

One possibility would be for the school to give more than one type of diploma, with one representing achievement in grades and subject matter more in keeping with traditional standards, and the other completion of minimum requirements. But this would lead to many difficulties and probably to more confusion. The answer to the problem seems to be for the schools to persuade business men in their area to do as colleges do,—send for the school's interpretation of the graduate's achievement and ability. A detailed transcript of marks would not be needed. But a form could be devised which would show the kind of curriculum the pupil had taken, his average grades, his special abilities and weaknesses, and his general attitude toward learning. With such information, an employer could form some intelligent judgment about the wisdom of hiring the individual. He could often be saved a costly experiment, the applicant could be saved an unfortunate experience, and the school could not be subjected to criticism for graduating, without warning, an incompetent student.

The Social Studies

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Are We Due for Another Depression

THOMAS J. HAILSTONES

Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio

Since its inception the United States has experienced a phenomenal economic growth. However, this growth has not been a steady progression but has come by leaps and bounds. These spasmodic movements of business activity are known as business fluctuations or business cycles, and these cycles are inherent in our free enterprise, capitalistic system.

Serious economic depression has commenced in each of the following years: 1819; 1837; 1857; 1873; 1893; 1907; 1921; and 1930. Each depression was preceded by a period of high-level prosperity, during which confidence in the American capitalistic system was firmly implanted into the minds of its citizens. In the 1920's we were talking about the new, the higher plateau of economic activity from which we could not fall. However, in that case as in the others we did fall, and into serious depression.

At present we are enjoying the highest level of business activity in American history. Production, employment, income—both wages and profits—and prices are at their highest peak. The Gross National Product, the total goods and services produced by our nation's economy, is running at the current rate of \$372 billion annually. We have more than 63 million persons employed out of a labor force of 65 million.

Although some may consider it a little premature, I think we should investigate the possibility of a downswing in our economy and begin to prepare remedial measures to offset any forthcoming recession in its incipient stage.

Many optimistic, and some not so optimistic, predictions concerning our future have been made in the past few months. To better our understanding of and to properly evaluate these predictions, let us examine four basic questions which are of interest to all of us.

1. *Can we fall from our present high level of prosperity?* The answer is a definite yes. We should not be lulled into a false sense of economic stability. In the immediate future it is going to require a little more effort on the part of business and individuals to maintain our present level of prosperity. We must keep in mind that it is not enough to maintain the existing high level of output, but we must continually increase it if we are going to prevent unemployment from arising. The reason for this is twofold: (1) We add to our labor force more than one-half million members per year. This means we must produce more if we are going to have jobs for these new members; and (2) the productivity of our labor force increases about two per cent per year. Because of this productivity factor the same level of output can be produced with fewer and fewer men as the years pass, and unemployment will result unless, of course, labor is compensated with a reduction in hours. Thus, if we merely try to maintain a certain level of output, instead of increasing it, we have two forces tending toward unemployment. This is exemplified in the table below.

Year	Real ¹ GNP (billions)	Labor Force (millions)	Employed (millions)	Unemployed (millions)
1929	\$86	49.0	47.6	1.4
1938	84	54.5	44.0	10.5

We produced approximately the same physical quantity of goods and services in 1938 as we did in 1929. However, unemployment in 1929 was only 1.4 millions compared to 10.5 millions in 1938. The increased unemployment of approximately nine (9) millions resulted from the two forces mentioned above. We used 3.5 million less men to produce the same output while we added about 5.5 millions to the labor force during the interim.

2. *Will we fall from our existing high level of prosperity?* If past experience is a reliable indicator we will fall to some extent. Some receding from the present high level seems unavoidable.

Prior to 1929 there had occurred a regular procession of short cycles with a pattern of two or three years of good business followed by one year of poor business. It appeared that the long and severe depressions of previous years had disappeared for good. Businessmen and laborers began to believe that America had developed sufficiently to prevent the occurrence of a banking crisis or the development of a serious depression. It was with this confident attitude that most businessmen reacted to the signs of a downswing in the autumn of 1929. It was expected that there would be a short downward adjustment and then a resumption to normal. What actually happened is history—the longest and most severe depression ever experienced by the American economy.

We have fallen from high level prosperity several times before, and it will no doubt happen again. But the next time we should be better prepared to meet the downward adjustment and stand ready to use proper anticyclical measures to prevent the downward adjustment from developing into a serious depression.

3. *When will we fall from our present high level of prosperity?* This is the most difficult of the questions to answer. Forecasters and speculators alike have been trying for months to find the answer. It may clarify the problem to consider the following facts.

There is some evidence that major wars are followed by two distinct depressions; a sharp, but relatively short depression as the war ends, which may be called the primary post-war depression; and after a period of recovery and expansion, a long and severe depression which

may be called the secondary post-war depression.²

Due to the strong financial position of the banks, the large holding of liquid assets, the pent-up demand of individuals and business, and the rapid conversion from war to peacetime production, the primary post-war depression expected in 1946, fortunately did not materialize. We skipped that phase of the cycle and went immediately into the post-war expansion. However, those who continued to think in terms of past patterns expected a major post-war depression to arrive after the favorable expansion had run its course. Thus, unless effective stabilizing measures were devised and utilized, a depression was predicted for the mid-1950's.

In 1949 the economy slipped from its high level of 1947 and 1948. The price level which had reached a peak in August 1948 fell slightly in 1949. Industrial production and personal incomes fell below their 1948 figures. Unemployment in 1949 was larger than it had been in any of the previous eight years. And for the first time since 1939 the Gross National Product failed to increase, in fact it fell by about \$2 billion.

Many people thought that 1949 was to be the cyclical turning point, marking the end of the post-war expansion. Although the first half of 1950 showed some improvement, the Korean conflict broke out before we had a chance to see the full impact of the deflationary forces that had set in. Thus, we will never know whether these deflationary forces would have been sufficient to initiate a serious depression.

Since Korea the economy has been bolstered by defense production. In the first half of 1953 defense spending, which was running at the rate of \$53 billion annually, accounted for one-sixth (17%) of our National Income. Total government spending—federal, state, and local—including defense spending ran \$83 billion annually and constituted about one-fourth (27%) of our National Income.³

With the truce in Korea defense spending is scheduled to level off within a matter of months. Thereafter, additions to total production which are necessary to maintain full employment will have to come from the private

sector of the economy—consumers and business. As the propensity to consume for any given level of income tends to be rather stable, most of the necessary increase will have to come from the increased demands of business. Whether or not business will increase investment sufficiently to continue at full employment remains to be seen. In all probability present investment will be maintained and no doubt be increased somewhat. However, if this is not the case there will be a good possibility of a post-war depression occurring in the mid-1950's.

If defense spending should not only level off but be drastically reduced the possibility of a post-war depression in the 1950's is even more pronounced. It would be a sizeable task for private investment to fill any serious gap created by a large decrease in defense spending. In fact, if defense spending were completely stopped, private business and consumers would have to increase their demand for goods and services by approximately \$50 billion within a relatively short period. Although a concomitant reduction in taxes would increase consumers's spending somewhat, the burden of filling the gap would fall primarily on business.

It is true that consumers and business were able to increase their demands sufficiently to take up the slack when we quickly curtailed war production after World War II. But, it would be a difficult task at present. Today holdings of liquid assets are less, total private debt is much higher, there is no pent-up demand for consumers goods, productive capacities are not in the need of expansion as they were after World War II, and there is an absence of the large foreign demand we had immediately after the last war.

After the last war private investment increased from a low of \$10 billion in 1945 up to \$43 billion in 1948. In 1949 it fell off to \$34 billion, which in part accounted for the mild recession we had that year. With the outbreak of hostilities in Korea private domestic investment surged to its highest rate, \$65 billion, in the second quarter of 1951 from where it declined to a low of \$49 billion a year later. However, much of this decrease was due to the encroachment of defense production and increased taxes. If defense spending should be curtailed sharply within a relatively short

period of time can we expect business to increase its investment and consumers to increase expenditures sufficiently to fill the gap? Probably not. Although private investment had climbed back to an annual rate of \$61 billion by the middle of 1953 and personal consumption expenditures had reached a new high of \$230 billion, the economy will not be able to adjust itself as rapidly as it did after World War II. Thus, a rapid curtailment of government spending could be the deciding factor initiating a serious depression.

Therefore, in regard to the curtailment of defense production we should follow a policy of gradual suspension, instead of the sharp cut we had after World War II, when we reduced defense spending from \$76 billion to \$21 billion within a period of one year. Or better still, we can reduce defense production within safe limits for national security and for a period of time substitute government expenditures on education, highways, hospitals, and in many other fields of the public economy that are sorely in need of improvement. This would permit a tapering off of government spending and give business an opportunity to gradually increase investment and consumers to increase expenditures to offset the decline in government spending. At the same time it would fulfill some of our basic public needs in the economy.

4. *How severe will the next depression be?*

Here again the answer depends on a multitude of conditions, many of which at present are unforeseeable. Much will depend on the willingness and the ability of business to maintain and increase its investment and the extent to which the government uses anticyclical devices. In recent years much progress has been achieved in making our economy less susceptible to depression, and it is reasonable to assume that a catastrophe such as we had in the 1930's will not occur again. We trust that the next one will be neither as long nor as severe as the great depression. This assumption is based on the following general facts:

1. We know more about cyclical behavior now than we did twenty-five years ago.
2. We have a better collection of statistics which reveal to us changes that are taking place in our economy.
3. We learned many things in the 1930's

about combating depression, and since then have developed a definite kit of anticyclical measures which we can utilize.

4. Government intervention as a means of stabilizing the economy is more widely accepted today than it was prior to the 1930's.

More specifically, certain stabilizing institutions are present in our economy which we did not have prior to 1930. Such things as unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, better agriculture price supports, insured bank deposits, government insured mortgages, improved security and exchange laws, etc., all have stabilizing effects.

In addition we have monetary and banking policies which attempt to stabilize the economy by controlling the volume of money. These consist of such things as reserve requirements, control of discount rates, open market operations, control of stock margins, and control of the terms of installment sales.

The government through its fiscal operations has a powerful tool for stabilization. By proper variations in its expenditures it may offset undesirable variations in private investment and consumption. By adjustments in taxation of individuals and corporations, the government can increase the total disposal income of the economy and encourage its use for consumption and investment.

In the use of these monetary and fiscal devices timing is of utmost importance if we are going to prevent the development of a serious depression. We cannot utilize anti-depressionary measures too early lest they be wasted. On the other hand, we cannot wait too long as it becomes increasingly more difficult to stop a recession as it gains momentum. To guide us in the proper use and timing of anti-cyclical measures there are certain signposts which we must watch. The most obvious of these are:

1. *Unemployment*: For practical purposes we consider ourselves at full employment if we have less than two million unemployed, as two million is considered as a normal amount of frictional unemployment. However, we should become concerned when unemployment begins to approach four or five million.

2. *Production*: Any sizeable drop in the GNP can be dangerous. In particular we should watch durable goods production, as fluctuations in durable goods usually precede changes in total production.
3. *Prices*: Cost-price relationships are especially important. Stable or declining prices accompanied by rising cost will squeeze out profits.
4. *Profits*: When profits fall a drop in investment may follow. Businessmen do not invest unless they expect profits.
5. *Sales*: Lower sales are indicative of lower profits. Lower profits mean less investment leads to reduced production, and reduced production results in unemployment.
6. *Inventories*: Increasing inventories may indicate a slackening of demand especially if prices are falling.
7. *Loans*: A decrease in the demand for loans by business may reflect an intention to decrease investment.
8. *Stock market*: It often reflects the thinking of businessmen in regard to the immediate future of business.

Lest you are left with a pessimistic outlook let us look at the immediate future. It appears that the present high level of employment will continue through 1953, and into the first half of 1954. Defense spending is scheduled to be maintained at a relatively high level for several months and cuts are to be made gradually.

Although the cancellation of defense contracts will cause displacement of workers, as it has been doing in the past few months, most of these workers will eventually be absorbed into the production of civilian goods and services.

The construction industry will probably reach its estimated million starts for the year 1953, and plans for another million next year. Iron and steel production is scheduled for continued high levels. The auto industry expects a good year in 1954 despite increased competition in the field. The situation is similar in the appliance industry. Petroleum had a good year in 1953 and expects another in 1954. Retail trade so far this year has been better than anticipated. Major statistical surveys reveal that business will maintain its high rate of investment. Bank loans are still running at

record levels. Business on the whole is optimistic, which adds a great psychological force in favor of continued prosperity for several months to come.

There may be some leveling off in the next year. It will behoove us to continually scrutinize the economy for signs of a break, and be prepared to remedy any serious situation that may become cumulative and pervade the economy. The next several months should be prosperous but they will also be precarious. Close vigilance and proper anti-cyclical measures will be necessary if we desire the economy to continue to operate at a high level.

It is cheering to know that the prospects for the long-run future are very bright. It has been calculated by our leading economists that in another generation the National Income will approach \$500 billion. Our population will exceed 175,000,000, with a labor force of 75,000,000. Output will increase faster than ever before, probably at 3% per annum. The

work week will become shorter, with the possibility of a 30-hour week by 1980. There will be a greater use of services. Automobiles will increase on a per capita basis. College and high school enrollments will rise. Travel will grow in popularity with increased incomes and leisure. And our per capita income will rise to around \$3000, almost double the present level.⁴ In general the outlook for the American economy is very encouraging, especially if we can do more to modify business fluctuations.

¹ In constant (1939) dollars. *National Income, 1950 Edition*. U. S. Department of Commerce. Table A, p. 146.

² Estey, James, *Business Cycles*. p. 121.

³ National Income is the aggregate earnings of labor and property which arise from the current production of goods and services by our nation's economy. It is running at the current rate of \$309 billion annually.

⁴ Slichter, Sumner H., "America's Future," *Basic Economics* by Gayer, Harriess and Spencer. p. 618.

It is worthy of note that the latest, January 1953, *Economic Report of the President*, states that we can accomplish most of these objectives within the next decade.

Roosevelt, de Gaulle and Our Vichy Policy: II

WILLIAM HUNTER SHANNON

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(Continued from October)

PART II

Despite the small gains made, the year 1942 for the Allies was one of both peril and indecision. The major problem of that year was one of creating a second front in Europe. Britain strongly objected to this plan and urged an invasion of North Africa. In January 1942, British forces under the command of Field Marshal Sir B. F. Alexander had taken the initiative and driven back the Afrika Korps of General Erwin Rommel eastward into Libya and beyond the port of Derna. An invasion of North Africa at this time would bring in additional reinforcements to follow up Alexander's advance.

The bulk of Hitler's armies were pressing into the interior of Russia. That nation urged the creation of a second front in Europe in order to relieve the pressure on her own front in the East. Plans for a North African invasion

were abandoned to give serious consideration to Russia's suggestion.³⁰

A long period of debate among the Allied Chiefs of Staff ensued. The United States and Russia pressed for the creation of a second front. Britain dissented and was charged with cowardice by Russia. However, unexpected Russian successes in turning the German advance at Stalingrad brought about a lessening of pressure from that nation for a second front. Britain and the United States agreed to abandon the plan for the time being.

The Allies were not sufficiently prepared to launch such an attack in 1942 nor was it considered feasible to expose such a mass movement of troops to the invincible and consolidated German lines in Western France. The raid on Dieppe had provided a striking lesson in the impracticability of such strategy.

Meanwhile in North Africa, Field Marshal Montgomery had overextended his lines of communication from Libya into Egypt. On May 26, Rommel counterattacked and drove Montgomery's army back to El Alamein. The British, resisting fiercely, established a new line of defense and held stubbornly. Rommel did not let up but pressed forward his attack.³¹

Because of the precarious position of Montgomery and Churchill's continued persistence, plans were immediately reconsidered for an invasion of North Africa. This invasion was to be an American operation. Thousands of American GI's would be committed to battle for the first time. General George C. Marshall and General Dwight D. Eisenhower therefore were against it. They believed such an undertaking was practically impossible. Roosevelt and Hull, though, once Churchill had won his decision, gave him their complete approval and also their full support. The invasion was scheduled to take place in November of 1942.³²

Through its Vichy policy the United States contemplated an easy invasion. It was hoped that Hull's idea of trade relations with key North African ports and the infiltration of American officers disguised as business men would soften up the Vichy French. As extra encouragement bribes would be used. Meanwhile Roosevelt sent messages to General Francisco Franco, Dictator of Spain; General Antonio Carmona, President of Portugal; Yves Chatel, the Governor General of Morocco and the Bey of Tunis.³³ The purpose of these messages was not only to win passive support but each message was to be broadcast throughout North Africa once a beachhead was established.

As a noble gesture and an apology for invading North Africa, Roosevelt wrote to Marshal Petain. He acknowledged the General as his "dear old friend" and referred to himself as "one of your friends and comrades of the great days of 1918."³⁴ He described France as a victim of the systematic plunder of the German Reich but justified the surrender of Petain. He expressed sorrow for having to commit American forces to an invasion of North Africa but hoped his compatriots there would cooperate. The sweet-toned letter was cabled in code to Churchill who suggested modifying certain portions that were too friendly to the General.

He reminded Roosevelt that Petain "had used his reputation to do our cause injuries no lesser man could have done."³⁵

Marshal Petain's reply showed very plainly the ineffectiveness of the Vichy policy. Petain replied:

It is with stupor and sadness that I learned tonight of the aggression of your troops against North Africa.

I have read your message. You invoke pretexts which nothing justifies. France and her honor are at stake. We are attacked. We shall defend ourselves. This is the order I am giving.³⁶

Earlier when General de Gaulle and the Free French were discussed in connection with the planned invasion, Roosevelt most obstinately stated "I consider it essential that de Gaulle be kept out of the picture and be permitted to have no information whatever regardless of how irritated or irritating he may become."³⁷

When the invasion task force sailed into the harbor at Casablanca the French offered stiff resistance. Shore batteries under the orders of General Auguste Noquez fired on all ships and landing craft. Because of the effective fire from the French batteries a landing was held up for three days. In that period of time the French suffered heavy losses in men and ships from the returned Allied fire. American losses were not so heavy but the delay gave German U-boats time to assemble and do considerable damage to the invasion fleet. Both at Casablanca and Oran the French resisted stubbornly but a beachhead was finally established on Sunday, November 8, 1942.³⁸

The fact that the French resisted did not change the attitude of the United States to Vichy. On November 8, 1942, Cordell Hull called a conference in the State Department to gloat exultantly over the success of his Vichy policy. Further efforts were made to establish a government in North Africa composed of men whose sentiments and loyalty closely adhered to Vichy.

For a number of days prior to the invasion, Robert Murphy, Consul General of North Africa, had been in close contact with General Henri Giraud. The General, who had been a prisoner of war in Germany, had successfully escaped to unoccupied France. Murphy thought

the presence of Giraud on the soil of North Africa would tend to unite and rally Frenchmen under one command.³⁹ If Giraud openly declared for the Allies, Frenchmen would stop resisting and give their support to the Allies. In the fashion of a cloak and dagger thriller, Giraud was spirited out of France by submarine and sea plane. Thence he was taken to Gibraltar to the headquarters of the Allied leader, General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Giraud mistakenly thought that he was to take over the command of all the Allied armies but Eisenhower soon let the General know that his purpose in Africa was only to unite the French. Giraud disappointedly complained that "General Giraud cannot accept a subordinate position in his [Eisenhower's] command, his countrymen would not understand and his honor as a soldier would be tarnished."⁴⁰ Eisenhower restated again the General's position. Giraud sadly replied that he was to be only a "spectator in this affair."⁴¹

The invasion of North Africa spelled doom to the Vichy government. Because of the success of this operation the Germans made of it a pretext to overrun unoccupied France. Petain became less of a leader of the so called loyal French and more of a "Quisling." The demise of Vichy stripped Giraud of all authoritative claims to leadership of the French in Africa. He had been selected by Murphy because of his Vichy connections. He was an appointee of the Imperial Council of Vichy made up of Petain and Petain's nominees.⁴² Now that Vichy had fallen he more than ever had to stay in the good graces of General Eisenhower and all ambitions of being supreme commander had to be relinquished. He was in fact, little more than a spectator.

It would seem as if former members of the Vichy regime were the only ones who could qualify to serve in setting up a liberated government in North Africa. Murphy not only sent to France for Giraud but to South America for a former member of the "Court of Vichy" to assist Giraud. This man, Marcel Peyrouton, had served as the Minister of Interior at Vichy and had represented that government as ambassador to Argentina. Despite his known harshness as Minister of Interior and his caterings to the Germans, he was hailed by

Murphy as an upright and staunch patriot. He was placed in the good favor of both Hull and Eisenhower through the recommendations of Murphy because of his break with the government of Pierre Laval.⁴³

Other Vichyites taken into the fold were M. M. Flandin, Jacques Lemaigre-Dubriell and Admiral Jean Darlan. How Admiral Darlan entered North Africa is still a mystery. It may be supposed that he knew of German plans to overrun unoccupied France or it may be that he was really in Algiers visiting his son who was ill with a peculiar form of paralysis. However that may be, Darlan had been most influential in his former deals with Germany. As Vice Premier of Vichy he had agreed in a meeting with Otto Abetz, Hitler's representative, to carry Nazi-instigated riots against the British in Iraq. He also agreed that France would make available planes and munitions for Iraq's rebels. He consented to supply General Rommel's armies in Africa with trucks from Tunisia.⁴⁴ Now caught in Algiers on D-Day he offered to make a deal with the "stupid Allies."⁴⁵

By offering his services to Eisenhower, Darlan proved to be more valuable than General Giraud. Giraud instead of uniting the North African French merely stirred up opposition. Darlan on the other hand was oil on troubled waters. The Admiral issued a cease-fire order and brought about the end of all French resistance.⁴⁶ Because of his ability to influence his compatriots, General Eisenhower decided to use him in uniting North Africa.⁴⁷

Giraud now was more of a liability than an asset and even Darlan wondered how Robert Murphy could have selected such a man. In a conversation with Murphy, Darlan admitted that Giraud was a good divisional commander but claimed that the General did not have the political ability of a child.⁴⁸

President Roosevelt agreed that Darlan should be used as an effective tool but as Chief Executive of the United States he could not recognize him. In a personal message to Eisenhower Roosevelt made this clear by emphasizing that:

We do not trust Darlan. It is impossible to keep a collaborator of Hitler and one whom we believe to be a fascist in civil power

any longer than is necessary. His movements should be watched carefully and his communications supervised.⁴⁹

Prime Minister Churchill took the same attitude to Darlan. He issued a note of warning to Roosevelt in a cablegram in which he stated that:

We must not overlook the serious political damage done to our cause not only in France but throughout Europe by the feeling that we are ready to make terms with local "Quislings." A permanent arrangement with the French Admiral on the formation of a Darlan government in North Africa would not be understood by the great masses of the ordinary people whose simple loyalties are our strength.⁵⁰

Both governments had a perfect right not to recognize Darlan and neither one did. The result was that, whereas recognition was not granted yet, neither government objected to the temporary arrangement made by Eisenhower with the Admiral. Darlan summed up the attitude of both governments, particularly the United States, in his statement "I am only a lemon which the Americans will drop after they have squeezed it dry."⁵¹

Recognition of the deal between Eisenhower and Darlan received widespread criticism from the American, English and Free French press. Most vitriolic of all was the attitude of General de Gaulle. In one of his many speeches de Gaulle stated the position of the Free French:

The nation will not tolerate that a handful of men who symbolize capitulation, collaboration and usurpation, who have used and abused the discipline of others in order to fight France's liberators should use it now to ape honor and duty. The nation will not allow these men who failed in war against foreign powers and sensed themselves doomed to safeguard their own futures by creating conditions which would end in civil war. The nation does not recognize their authority derived from a grotesque parody of divine right through the reincarnation of a Buddha whom moreover they portray and who into the bargain condemns them.⁵²

The news that Darlan and other Vichy adherents such as M. M. Flandin, Jacques Lamaigre-Dubrielle and Marcel Peyrouton

"had undergone a Damascus Conversion" was difficult to receive.⁵³ Dennis Brogan in his book *French Personalities and Problems* remarked "It will take a good deal to persuade me that a future France holding up her head among nations has more need of the timid, the prudent, the despairing men of Vichy than it has of the men who adopted for themselves and their country not the imbecile craftiness of *la France Seule* but *Honneur et Patrie*."⁵⁴

The protests of the American and British press could best be summarized in statements to the effect that if the U. S. would make a deal with Darlan in French territory there was little doubt to believe they could make a similar one with Goering in Germany or Matsuoka in Japan. The Gaullist press was so enraged and vindictive in its outbursts that in North Africa General Eisenhower was forced to clamp a tight censorship over its publications. He did this, so he maintained, for the best of security reasons. Afterwards he regretted the necessary action.⁵⁵

So complex was the political situation in North Africa that on November 11, 1942, Roosevelt suggested that it was time that the three *prima donnas*, de Gaulle, Giraud and Darlan be brought together at a conference. Darlan and Giraud were willing. De Gaulle agreed and in the latter part of December 1942 sent his emissary General d'Astier de la Vigerie to Algiers to confer with Giraud and Eisenhower. Talks of a conference were abruptly halted when an assassin's bullet ended the life of Darlan.⁵⁶

De Gaulle, who had been most hopeful of the Algiers Conference, had gone even farther, and through Anthony Eden proposed a trip to Washington to discuss matters directly with Roosevelt. Darlan's assassination ended all hope of such a trip, especially since the brother of de Gaulle's aide was accused of complicity in Darlan's assassination.

Now that the Admiral was dead the struggle for political leadership in North Africa rested with de Gaulle and Giraud.

Despite his strongly-worded message to Eisenhower, President Roosevelt believed that Darlan represented the only constituted authority in North Africa. He did not think de Gaulle had the respect and the support of the people

of France and he thought if de Gaulle's Free French were recognized as a government in exile that more controversy would be stirred up. The President did not place much emphasis on the ability of Giraud. He knew that the General was a weak administrator. Roosevelt particularly understood that intense rivalry for power would follow Darlan's death. This rivalry must be eliminated and government must be set up composed of those who were loyal to de Gaulle as well as those Frenchmen who backed Giraud. He wanted to rid the world of the notion that England and France were each supporting pet French governments.⁵⁷

The Casablanca Conference held in January, 1943, enabled both Roosevelt and Churchill to take an active part in the political controversy in North Africa. Roosevelt was particularly anxious to bring de Gaulle and Giraud together. British and American newspaper reporters and radio news analysts were most vehement in their attacks on the President because of his past pro-Vichy policy. Now he had a chance to vindicate himself by appearing as the mediator between the two warring factions of de Gaulle and Giraud.

On January 16, Roosevelt announced in a cablegram to Secretary Hull that Generals Giraud and de Gaulle would be brought to Casablanca to confer with Mr. Churchill and himself the following day.⁵⁸ Through arrangements with the British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, de Gaulle was contacted at Carleton Court, London, and invited to North Africa. The General coolly refused. He felt he had been slighted by not having been taken into the confidence of the Allied High Command during the planning stages of the North African invasion. Moreover he was angered at overtures paid to such a personage as the former Vichyite Marcel Peyrouton, whose plane from South America had landed in Casablanca at the same time as Roosevelt's.⁵⁹

Roosevelt, when de Gaulle declined to come to Casablanca, considered the refusal as an attitude of naivete.⁶⁰ He is reported as having communicated to Hull that he would be only too glad to laugh off the situation and forget it. He knew, however, that if he could effect a union between the two antagonists he would score a victory over the arch-critics within and without administration circles as well as his

critics of the press. A month later further arrangements were made to bring about conciliation.

On this occasion the two Generals were given separate conferences. The meeting with General Giraud was conducted with a great deal of flattery interspersed with light conversation. It was climaxed by the General being photographed with Roosevelt.⁶¹

The conference with de Gaulle was less formal and gave the appearance of being more sinister. Harry Hopkins, an eye-witness to the meeting, related that when de Gaulle appeared before Roosevelt, the President was guarded closely by secret service men, armed with Tommy guns, who were concealed behind a curtain.⁶² It was doubtful if de Gaulle realized he was so well covered. The upshot of the meeting was a story which afterwards was regarded as a prize jest. Hopkins thought the story was pure fiction but admitted that afterwards he had heard the President himself tell it. De Gaulle at the first meeting had claimed spiritual descent from Joan of Arc. At the next meeting⁶³ he compared himself to Clemenceau. Roosevelt is reported to have told the General to please make up his mind for he couldn't be both.

The story leaked out, was grabbed up by the press and published. It helped without a doubt to widen the gulf of misunderstanding between the President and the leader of the Free French.

Roosevelt with a great deal of persuasion was at last able to effect a meeting between Giraud and de Gaulle. A great deal of the credit for bringing the "bride to the chamber of the bridegroom"⁶⁴ however must be allotted to Harry Hopkins. On January 24, Hopkins arranged that de Gaulle and Giraud should meet with Roosevelt and issue a report that they planned to work together. De Gaulle, who had been upbraided by Churchill for treating Roosevelt's first invitation with scorn, reluctantly appeared. Roosevelt expressed his views in powerful terms to the two French leaders. Afterward they retired to a nearby garden where a battery of photographers snapped pictures of the three dignitaries. Roosevelt then suggested that a picture should be taken of de Gaulle and Giraud shaking hands. This

being completed, the French Generals and their aides retired and Roosevelt and Churchill bade each other farewell, for the Casablanca Conference was over.⁶⁵

Roosevelt perhaps was a very happy person on his return trip home. He had scored a victory over his critics but he had not eliminated friction and rivalry in the French Committee of Liberation. The President had merely played into de Gaulle's hands.

After the Casablanca conference a new committee of the French Liberation was established. The new Committee had two presidents and two commanders-in-chief of the French army. Equal powers supposedly were conferred on both de Gaulle and Giraud. Such was not really true. De Gaulle was now the dominant figure. The high positions on the new committee (through the political maneuvering of de Gaulle) had been filled with the Free French.⁶⁶

Giraud was forced to resign. Giraud's authority rested on his appointment by Marshal Petain. Now that Vichy had fallen the majority of the people in France stirred up by the active Resistance and disgusted with German atrocities turned toward de Gaulle. The de Gaulle movement without any planning had become the chief symbol of the underprivileged in France.⁶⁷

The movement was supported by a powerful underground press made up of forty separate newspapers. One of these papers had a circulation of 75,000 copies. Each copy was read by at least ten persons. *L'Humanité* and *Le Populaire*, organs of the Communist and Socialist parties had up to 80,000 readers.

De Gaulle's radio messages were gaining more listeners. The broadcasts were printed and distributed to homes without radios. The messages were messages of hope as well as messages of practical advice on how to cooperate with the secret work of the Resistance. The communications were so worded that the members of the movement felt a close personal relationship to de Gaulle.

Since the entry of Russia into the war thousands of Communists and Socialists, noted for skill in underground organization, joined the resistance and proclaimed de Gaulle as their true leader. De Gaulle played up to this element by advocating social security, a broader inter-

pretation of liberty, equality and fraternity, the abolishment of coalitions of private wealth and the uprooting of totalitarianism.⁶⁸

Appealing to all patriotic Frenchmen he firmly declared that France's sovereignty and her territorial integrity would be restored. The French people would also elect a truly representative assembly and create a new and better republic which would have no affiliations with the Third Republic.⁶⁹

In the meantime de Gaulle had attempted to win over the soldiers under the command of General Giraud to the Free French by offering higher pay and bonuses. Such promises brought 2,750 men into the ranks of the Free French. On the French battleship *Richelieu*, interned in the United States, he had urged the sailors to mutiny.⁷⁰

All of this was too much for the politically inexperienced Giraud who gave in to pressure and resigned. By this time de Gaulle not only had strong leftist elements behind him but rightist parties such as the Catholic Democrats also supported him.

The resignation of General Giraud caused Secretary of State Hull to make the following comment:

Mr. Roosevelt and I continued to resent de Gaulle's ambitions and the pressure and propaganda methods he utilized to fulfill them. Even as we feared he soon forced Giraud into discord, Giraud resigned as co-president of the Committee on November 9 and the reshuffling of positions that followed left de Gaulle with full power.⁷¹

Mr. Hull was not merely expressing resentment of de Gaulle but the coming of de Gaulle to power announced to the world the failure of the Vichy policy of the United States. Allowing for the startling success of the North African invasion, American relations with Vichy had their limitations. American diplomats in Vichy perhaps did make certain contributions by reporting the activities of the highly placed government officials. The most important information, however, came from loyal Frenchmen who were in touch with de Gaulle's headquarters, and through the British Secret Service. The diplomats of the United States were allied to the handpicked government of Petain, puppet leaders who were

closely controlled by Berlin. They were never able to forge a bond of union with the French people. Therein lay the weakness and the failure of the Vichy policy.⁷²

Roosevelt still questioned the authority of de Gaulle and refused to acknowledge his leadership. When the Free French retook Lebanon in August 1943 and set up an independent Republic, Roosevelt accused de Gaulle of imposing his government on Lebanon and remarked:

[De Gaulle] now claims the right to speak for all France and talks openly of plans to set up his government in France as soon as the Allies get in. [Roosevelt added] the occupation when it occurs should be wholly military.⁷³

When the French Committee of Liberation applied for equal status on the Allied Commission for Italy, Roosevelt accused de Gaulle of moving himself forward by a process of infiltration. He could not see why France was entitled to a representative on the Allied Control Commission for Italy.⁷⁴

Up until the eve of the Normandy invasion Roosevelt continued to express his disapproval of de Gaulle. General Eisenhower, now recognizing the strong support of de Gaulle and his ability to influence the powerful Resistance, accorded the Free French General full authority to be the leader of the provisional government of France. Roosevelt sent a cable to Eisenhower in which he objected strongly to recognition of de Gaulle's sovereignty. It was not the policy of the Allies, Roosevelt said, to force upon the population of France a particular government or a particular ruler.

In his memoirs Eisenhower stated his position:

The attempt to work out a plan satisfactory to de Gaulle and still remain within the limits fixed by our government fell largely to the lot of our headquarters and occasioned a great deal of worry because we were depending on considerable assistance from the insurrectionists in France. They were known to be particularly numerous in the Brittany area and in the hills and mountains of south-eastern France. An open clash with de Gaulle on this matter would have hurt us immeasurably and would have resulted in bitter

recriminations and unnecessary loss of life.⁷⁵

Eisenhower thought that Roosevelt's argument was purely academic. De Gaulle's authority was the only one that could produce the needed cooperation of the French people. Eisenhower's staff decided to ignore the President's message and agreed to accept de Gaulle on the grounds that his position as provisional governor in the initial stages of the occupation would be temporary until such a time as a free election could be held.⁷⁶

On August 25, 1944, the Provisional government of France was established. In October of 1945 the people of France elected de Gaulle as the first President of the 4th Republic. In this election women for the first time were given the right to vote.⁷⁷

De Gaulle's aims were achieved. Representative government was restored. France took her former place among the major Allied powers and was granted membership in the United Nations as well as a seat in the Security Council. A mutual assistance pact was established between France and Russia. The United States once more sent her ambassador to the Parisian Embassy.⁷⁸

Edgar Ansell Mowrer,⁷⁹ a foreign correspondent, who knew de Gaulle well, draws this conclusion which is presented in the form of a summary. Mowrer suggests that the secret of de Gaulle's power was not that he was unlike either Roosevelt or Churchill but on the other hand certain traits of all three leaders bear marked similarity. Writing in 1943 he stated:

[De Gaulle] feels toward France as Churchill toward the British Empire or as Roosevelt toward the American Navy. In fact the closer you look at de Gaulle, the more he appears like what Churchill or Roosevelt would be were they Frenchmen and exercised their present temperaments and inclinations. Like them he is headstrong, opinionated, self confident, impatient of advice, adamant to pressure. Roosevelt and Churchill are accustomed to giving orders. De Gaulle has no intention of taking any that are against his notion of what is best for France.⁸⁰

Despite the fall of de Gaulle in 1946 due to his misunderstanding of economic issues and his refusal to get along understandably with

leftist groups, the power of his ideals, the force of his patriotism, the earnestness of his endeavors to serve France, raise him to a position a little more honorable than a mere footnote in History.

³⁰ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 23, Article "World War II."

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Sherwood, *Op. Cit.*, p. 243.

³³ Cordell Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948), p. 950.

³⁴ Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1949), p. 242.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-243.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁴⁰ Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1948), p. 100.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁴² David Thompson, *Two Frenchmen, Pierre Laval and Charles de Gaulle* (London: The Cresset Press, 1951), p. 96.

⁴³ Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1949), p. 243.

⁴⁴ Hull, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 950-961.

⁴⁵ Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1949), p. 247.

⁴⁶ One exception may be noted. Admiral Jean Esteva, surrounded by Germans, continued to collaborate.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

⁵⁰ Winston Churchill, "Speech on Darlan" *Life*, Vol. 20 (February 4, 1946).

⁵¹ Sherwood, *Op. Cit.*, p. 252.

⁵² David Thompson, *Two Frenchmen, Pierre Laval and Charles de Gaulle* (London: The Cresset Press, 1951), p. 190.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁵⁵ Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1949), p. 249.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 283. This information recorded by Sherwood was taken from an unsigned memorandum found on Roosevelt's desk the morning of Darlan's assassination December 24, 1942.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ The conference was made up of a number of meetings.

⁶⁴ A term coined by Roosevelt in reference to the meeting of de Gaulle and Giraud.

⁶⁵ Sherwood, *Op. Cit.*, p. 297.

⁶⁶ Thompson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 96.

⁶⁷ Thompson, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 90-96.

⁶⁸ Andre Riveloup, *The Truth About De Gaulle* (New York: Arco Publishing Co., 1943), pp. 45-46-47.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Thompson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 184.

⁷¹ Cordell Hull, *Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948), p. 1244.

⁷² Ellen Hammer, "Hindsight on Vichy" *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 51 (June 1946).

⁷³ Hull, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1244.

⁷⁴ Hull, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1445.

⁷⁵ Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1948), p. 248.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁷⁷ Frank P. Chambers, Christian Phelps Harris, Charles G. Baily, *This Age of Conflict* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co.) pp. 950-960.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 950-960.

⁷⁹ Edgar Ansell Mowrer, War Correspondent for *Chicago Daily News* 1914, later Chief of *Chicago Daily News* Bureau in Berlin.

⁸⁰ Andre Riveloup, *The Truth About De Gaulle* (New York: Arco Publishing Co., 1943). Preface of the book "Americans Look at De Gaulle."

The Geopolitics of Pakistan

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The new Dominion of Pakistan was born on August 15, 1947, as the most populous state in the Moslem world. The official census of 1951 gives the total population as 75,842,000 of whom 85.9% are Muslims and the rest Hindus and Sikhs. It is the only country in the world whose territory is not continuous by land. In setting up independence after the British withdrawal, British-India was divided into two new states—the Dominion of India for the Hindus and Pakistan for the Moslems. Following lines of local majorities, Pakistan was created in

two unequal pieces separated by 1,000 miles of Hindu domain; the two parts lie in the northwest and northeast corners of India. The larger northwest area (310,236 square miles), larger than Texas (267,339 square miles), has been carved from the Punjab, the northwest frontier, the Province of Sind, and British Baluchistan. These provinces, though counting about 33,779,000, contain some virtually empty areas. The northeast section, Pakistan's "East Prussia," contains only a little more than half of the teeming, humid Bengal province, plus

the small Sylhet district of Assam. This region, rich in jute and coal (the latter found in the Sylhet District, around Mymensingh and northern Tippera) is remote in more ways than actual distance from the mountainous, arid reaches in western Pakistan.

The term Pakistan comes from the province names of the northwest. To the first letter of Punjab was added A for the Northwest Frontier Province, Afghans; K for Kashmir; S for Sind; and "tan" for Baluchistan. Also, "pak" means "pure" and "noble" to the Mohammedans.

Geographically, almost all of Sind and west Punjab is a continuation of the north-central plains of India which run up to the mountains in the north and west, crossing Baluchistan and the north-west Frontier Province. Eastern Pakistan is a low-lying flat country. Western Pakistan has numerous rivers running from the Himalayas. The Indus, the greatest one, enters the Arabian Sea near Karachi.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

English is still the official language of Pakistan. Illiteracy is high—around 86 per cent. A constitution is only in the making, and Pakistan is run by a federal government, responsible to the Constituent Assembly.

RESOURCES

There are around 76 million people in Pakistan. Eight persons out of every ten depend upon agriculture for a living; the most important products are rice, wheat, sugar, jute, oil-seeds, fruit, cotton, and tobacco.

When Pakistan started its national independence as a separate country in 1947, it was faced with very grave problems. There were seven million refugees to be taken care of, while large numbers of professional men had left the country.

Generally speaking, the little industry in Pakistan has been set up in the last few years. In spite of the fact that the country is responsible for 75 per cent of the world's jute production, there were no jute mills and practically no textile mills there in 1947. Since then four new cotton mills have been completed by private enterprise, and twelve other mills will be in operation shortly. Several jute presses have been imported into East Pakistan. Four cigarette factories have been built, together

with a new sugar factory; a number of other industries have been started, and some older ones have been further developed. At present Pakistan produces about 600,000 tons of coal a year. There is very little oil in the country. On the other hand, the great resources of hydro-electric power are largely untapped.

The government recognizes that agriculture must continue to be the main occupation of the people, and is therefore trying to increase production of food and other important crops.

STRATEGIC ASPECTS

To the United States, Pakistan remains a problem *par excellence*. To Washington, Pakistan remains a dangerous spot, obviously unable to ensure military defense for the sub-continent against envious neighbors and to bring, at this time, a greater economic prosperity for Asia. The successful responsibility to defend the region around the Indian Ocean, formerly provided by Great Britain, depends on the harmonious cooperation of India and Pakistan in a common defense; "for the new political boundaries of the Indian sub-continent have little relation to its strategic position."¹ Ever since its existence, Pakistan has been burdened by the cold war with India, disagreement over Kashmir, resentment of India's influence in the Commonwealth in spite of its status as a Republic, and coolness toward Great Britain because of alleged favoritism toward India. There has been a bitter dissatisfaction arising out of the mass migration of populations from each new state. When the Korean crisis arose, Pakistan was only three years old and had to take care of 7 million refugees—a war in itself; yet, with the Pakistan government out, the Constituent Assembly found time to pass a bill sending 5,000 tons of wheat to Korea. At the same time, the Pakistan Armed Forces were still mainly equipped with the outmoded defence equipment it had received on partition, and India had massed her troops on the eastern border of West Pakistan.

THE FRONTIERS

Pakistan's northwest area is famous as the land of Kipling's border ballads and hill tales. The frontier runs from the sultry delta coast of the Arabian Sea to the perpetually snow-shrouded peaks of the Afghanistan frontiers. Peshawar, a strategically important border

city, is nine miles from Jamrud, the entrance to the Khyber Pass, in the strategic Afghan region. This chief gateway from India's sub-continent to Central Asia is an old path of trade, culture, and invasions. Today it is used by swaying camel caravans and migrating shepherds, along with trucks overloaded with bales of skins, cereals, and tea.

Sharing the Afghan border with the northwest frontier is the former British Baluchistan province, stretching southward toward Iran for more than 700 miles. A rugged, lonely region, in which occasional green spots appear like oases among the bare mountains, this portion of Pakistan is another turbulent tribal territory, whose defense centered around its historic pass, high, dry Quetta, a military training outpost.

Through the neighboring Sind, to the southwest, flows the great Indus River on its last stretch to the Arabian Sea. Where was once near desert irrigation projects are reclaiming millions of acres especially for the production of citrus and date crops. The city of Hyderabad is the capital of the Province, while Karachi, its former capital, has become a federal area (like the District of Columbia).

Punjab, quite important to Pakistan agriculturally, is also irrigation-conscious. This "land of five rivers," like Bengal, was divided between India and Pakistan. Except for the short frontier with Burma, Eastern Bengal is entirely surrounded by India.

THE KASHMIR DISPUTE

The relations between India and Pakistan have been weakened to a considerable degree because of the conflict of both states over Kashmir. After three and one half years of unsuccessful attempts to solve the Kashmir dispute, relations between India and Pakistan became so tense in 1951 that both concentrated troops and there was open talk of war. The Kashmir question involves 450 million people, and the United Nations has devoted many, many hours of thought and discussion to Kashmir.

The combined state of Jammu and Kashmir is about the size of Great Britain and has a population of four million. Jammu, which contains nearly all the Hindus, is in the south, and about one tenth the size of Kashmir proper,

which is almost entirely Moslem. In the north is the sparsely populated Gilgit Agency, about twice the size of Jammu. Kashmir has been ruled by Hindus, Moslems, and Sikhs, but never by the Kashmiri, who are simple, peaceful, agriculturists of Indo-Aryan stock. India insists that the whole territory, not only Jammu, but Moslem Kashmir and Gilgit as well, belongs to it;² Pakistan's demands are not for territory but for an impartial plebiscite to allow the people of Jammu (composed of 1,215,676 Muslim and 765,757 non-Muslim) and Kashmir to decide for themselves whether they are to become a part of the Dominion of India, or a part of Pakistan. (This demand is an international agreement between the Governments of India and Pakistan, signed in the last week of December, 1948, and endorsed by the UN Security Council in early January, 1949.)

In the northwest, in the Gilgit area, the Kashmiris are connected, along a 50 mile frontier, with Afghanistan. The ethnic claims are very complicated here.³ At any rate, with very few exceptions, the frontier either cuts clean across a mountain range or runs along the crest, in most cases placing one part of a tribe inside Afghanistan and the other part outside it. The Pakistan government was thus presented with a troublesome frontier which was determined regardless of ethnographic considerations. On the southwest, the boundary between Pakistan and Kashmir is 580 miles long (while the boundary between Kashmir and India is approximately 380 miles in length). In the east, Kashmir and Tibet have a common frontier of 350 miles; this is where the real danger begins; the fact is that Kashmir has now virtually a common frontier with Communist China.⁴ On the north and the northeast, Kashmir has a 400 mile frontier with Sinkiang.

Independent observers agree that possession of Kashmir cannot be more than a question of prestige for India. There are no compelling factors, geographic, military, or economic, which make it necessary for India to hold Kashmir. Its boundary with the Princely state is formed by high, inaccessible mountains, except for a 30 mile gap near the city of Pathankot, and the first road linking India

and Kashmir was built only recently. Before the partition of the sub-continent in August, 1947, all three roads leading into the state passed through Pakistan territory. On the other hand, a Pakistan which does not control at least the western part of Kashmir is practically at the mercy of a hostile government in New Delhi. The agriculture of Pakistan's west zone, which comprises more than 70 per cent of its territory, is dependent on an irrigation system fed by the Indus and the five rivers of its basin, all of which are dammed up by headworks situated in Kashmir and the Indian Punjab. In fact, the potentiality of hydro-electric power in Kashmir is enormous, there being immense volumes of water possessing enormous kinetic energy (the "white coal of Kashmir") stored up in them in the upper reaches of the rivers of Kashmir.

Pakistan's defense system against an attack from Afghanistan and the Soviet Union is connected with the rest of the country by a railroad line and a road, linking Peshawar (Northwest Frontier Province), and Lahore, which run more than 150 miles at a distance of only a few miles from the Pakistan-Kashmir border. If India were in possession of all Kashmir, it would practically control this sole communication line.

These are the considerations which outweigh the cultural and religious ties with the people of Kashmir—which is predominantly Moslem—on which Pakistan bases its claims to the Princely State.

PAKISTAN-AFGHANISTAN DISPUTE

One of the most explosive issues in south-west Asia today is the Pakistan-Afghanistan dispute over the independence of the area known as Pashtoonistan—also referred to as Pathanistan, Pushtoonistan, or Pakhtoonistan. This area, partly in Afghanistan and partly in Pakistan, was partitioned by the British in creating the Durand Line, as a military strategic border between Afghanistan and British India, now Pakistan. The line was accepted by Afghanistan in 1893, and was inherited by Pakistan when it gained independence; it divided twelve million Pashtoons, about half on each side of the line. But the retention of the Durand Line has never satisfied Afghanistan, to whom the territory in question originally

belonged, because landlocked Afghanistan must receive and ship goods via the excellent roads of Pakistan and the port of Karachi. While the people of the Northwest Frontier Province voted to become Pakistanis, border skirmishes involving Pashtoon guerrillas often take place. India, perhaps anxious to keep Pakistan occupied in other quarters than Kashmir, has been sympathetic toward Afghanistan and the rebellious Pashtoonistan movement. Pakistan cannot give up these people, since they have taken the citizenship oath; it would be like the U.S. giving up Maine because it is dangerously close to Canada.⁵

At any rate, the issue between Afghanistan and Pakistan is of international significance because it affects the surety of Afghanistan as a buffer between Pakistan and Soviet Russia, because it affects the internal economy of both parties to the dispute, and already has helped closer trade relations between the U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan.

TRENDS

Although development of a unified Pakistan nation is retarded that communication between east and west Pakistan is possible only through a thousand miles of Indian territory or by a long sea voyage, the geopolitical importance of Pakistan cannot be overestimated. In spite of its short national existence, Pakistan is today one of the most important keys to the survival of south Asia from the ever-encroaching Communist danger. From the standpoint of the United States, Pakistan needs all the help necessary to promote its internal and international stability.

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² For more details, see such studies as: G. Fitzgerald, "Kashmir," *Contemporary Review*, 1022 (February, 1951), pp. 92-97; Taraknath Das, "The Kashmir Issue and the United Nations," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXV, 2 (June, 1950), pp. 264-282; Phillips Talbot, "Kashmir and Hyderabad," *World Politics*, I, 3 (April, 1949), pp. 321-332.

³ See the 1948 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Vol. I, p. 285, regarding the term "Afghan" and "Pethan."

⁴ For more details, see: Joseph S. Roucek, "Geopolitics of Tibet," *Social Education*, XVI, 5 (May, 1952), pp. 217ff.

⁵ Ian Stephens, *Figment or Reality? Pakhtoonistan* (Karachi: Kamel Publications, Post Box No. 244, 1953), is a level-headed report on the Pakhtoonistan problem.

Do Historians Seek the Truth?

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I am being confused. I am being confused by history and historians. More and more I come to appreciate the view which Henry Ford is supposed to have expressed: that history is "bunk." I too aspire to be something of a

historian, but I have not yet become so expert in the subject as to escape the layman's point of view. And what I see from that point of view is a vista of bewilderment.

How can it be possible that historical

scholars of such eminence as Charles Callan Tansill and Samuel Flagg Bemis, or Charles A. Beard and Samuel Eliot Morison, or Harry Elmer Barnes and Henry Steele Commager, upon serious study of the origins of World War II, present such completely different pictures?

If the ultimate objective of historical scholarship is to find the truth, then presumably the more that leading scholars pursue given questions, the closer together they should come. Yet quite the opposite often seems to be true. Certainly thinking human beings are bound to have differences of opinion and differences in judgment. But honest historical scholars ought not have such violent differences in facts. Of course I recognize that it is easy to say that there are no differences of opinion on facts, only varying degrees of ignorance, but I recognize that there is a twilight zone where fact becomes indistinguishable from opinion—as in attempts to analyze men's motives. I recognize furthermore that all men are liable to error. But I cannot accept that as reason enough to justify these complete divergencies. I am forced to the question, what have the historians really contributed?

Actually the man who never has studied history at all may be better off. Knowing little of either side of a controversial matter, he cannot possibly be as far from the truth, standing somewhere near the center, as are at least one group of the historians who take opposite views from each other. Either Franklin D. Roosevelt did conspire to get this country into World War II, or he did not conspire to get into the war. But learned historians seem no more capable of getting at the truth of the matter than any ordinary man who never read a history book. Is there really any difference between the positions taken by unlearned soap-box orators or biased newspaper editors, and those of smug, scholarly historians, even though they are able to buttress their writings with hundreds of well-chosen footnotes?

As they seem to do in all periods, the historiographical cycles are working again—first come the apologists, and their critics; then the revisionists and their critics; then the counter-revisionists and their critics.

First it seemed that Benedict Arnold was a villainous traitor who deserved no mercy;

then it developed that he was a brave and able warrior wronged by the people whom he had served so well; then it turned out that he really was a rascal after all. First I am told that Stephen A. Douglas was a self-seeking, ambitious politician whose sole objective was to win the presidency; then I am told he was a wise, far-sighted, unselfish statesman who, as president, might have spared the country the "unnecessary war," and still saved the Union. At one time I learn that McClellan was a timid, troublesome, ineffective general, though he might have had some value as a drillmaster; then I learn that he was the "saviour of the Union," and had it not been for the interference of Lincoln and Stanton he might have ended the Civil War years sooner; still later I find out that Lincoln was the greatest strategist on the Union side, and McClellan was a troublesome problem child. First I am told that Andrew Johnson was one of our worst presidents, and later I discover that he really was a courageous and clear-thinking statesman. What is the layman to believe?

What I say is nothing new. It is a perplexity which has troubled laymen for as long as superior knowledge and wisdom have separated other men from themselves. Nor is it confined to history. Medicine and other fields too change with equal swiftness and completeness. Nevertheless one can discern certain broad limits within which the great majority of physicians operate. They can agree on substantial areas of diagnosis and treatment. At least it seems generally to be the case that medical practices vary with increasing knowledge. Added knowledge does not seem always to explain the cycles of historians.

I have been told to be open-minded, balanced, and fair. Yet those who have been the most assiduous have also often become the most dogmatic, and the most closed-minded. But they also have risen to places of leadership within their profession.

Often it has been noted that one of the greatest tragedies that can befall a graduate student is to work half-way through his thesis only to discover that someone else has finished a dissertation on the same subject only a few weeks earlier, and so of course now he must choose another topic, for his previous work has

gone for naught. Some students have been denied the Ph.D. degree because they refused to do a second thesis under those circumstances. I wonder why faculties insist upon such a requirement as that. Certainly it would be fair for an adviser to assure himself that one of his students has not taken over someone else's work for his own. But as for writing independently on the same subject, what difference could it make? It would be most interesting to me to see whether several young scholars, working independently of one another, might come up with the same general answers. It would be difficult to imagine that a student of, for example, Louis Martin Sears and one of Arthur M. Schlesinger would in fact find similar answers in studies of some common phases of the New Deal. But, if they are really getting at the truth, they certainly should. When historians present accounts of the same events in such sharp contrast as do Beard and Rauch, Morgenstern and Sherwood, Tansill and Perkins, then certainly some confirmation of findings is needed somewhere.

Truly history has a great value. It permits a person to expand his life to live in centuries rather than in years, and to share the experiences of men the world over rather than those of his parish. Its study gives a person something in common with persons wherever he goes, and in it he can grow and develop his powers for living abundantly. It will teach him new depth in the places he visits and the peoples he talks with; it will add new meaning to the books he reads, the shows he sees, the

events of the day which crowd upon him. And with it all, he can find enjoyment in reading it for itself, just as he enjoys a good novel, and add to that some satisfaction for that intellectual curiosity—the excitement of learning—which has characterized him from his earliest years.

But are there such things as lessons of history? If our knowledge of history is so imperfect that men who spend thirty, forty, fifty years in studying it cannot come close enough to the truth to agree on elementary conclusions, then so far as society is concerned, what has been the value of having men spend their lives at that task?

The answer must lie with the historians themselves. Just as "the devil can cite Scripture to suit his own ends" so historians can cite documents to support theirs. Certainly bias can enter as well in the selection and emphasis of material as in the actual distortion of it. Indeed the former is more dangerous, because it is beyond the control of the ordinary reader. The only possible answer is in the integrity as well as the skill of the historian himself. The only real protection for the laymen against historians who are lacking in integrity—just as it is in finding protection from "shyster lawyers" or "quack doctors"—is to find historians who combine equal skill with personal integrity and intellectual honesty. For too long too much emphasis has been put upon the technical skills of the historian, and not enough upon the character of the historian himself.

The Tariff Question 1953

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The so-called dollar gap has been made possible by the willingness of the United States to provide the rest of the world with 36 billion dollars in grants for the seven years from 1946 through 1952. As taxpayers, we often wonder if we cannot find another effective method to

strengthen the free world, and in this article I shall attempt to point out an essential part of the solution to the problem. Of course, the dollar gap can be decreased if we cut down our exports or increase our imports. A cut in exports would seriously threaten the military

potential of our friends abroad, and it would place our export industries in a precarious position; an increase in imports would raise the total free world output, but it would also pinch the marginal producers in some American industries.

On the assumption that we want to reduce the taxpayer's burden, we have to choose between the two methods. Students of foreign trade who look for the best national solution usually prefer to increase imports rather than to decrease exports. The abolishment of our tariffs and quotas might have saved us as much as 50 per cent on foreign aid.

One of the important factors involved is the tariff, since a reduction in the tariff is tantamount to a cut in the prices of imported goods. A decrease in the prices of imported manufactured commodities would undoubtedly increase our purchases abroad. The more such imports compete with domestic production, the more effective the price competition will be. However, the tariff reductions are presently on a selective basis, and when a lowering of a duty promises to be effective, the opposition from domestic competitors becomes very severe.

In 1934 the new Trade Agreements Act indicated an understanding of the principle that we cannot have exports without imports. The program was a move against bilateralism and growing protectionism all over the world. At a time of mass unemployment, we insisted upon equivalent concessions from abroad whenever we reduced our duties. The Act authorized the President to make agreements with other nations on the basis of mutual trade concessions without referring the agreements to the House or Senate for approval.

The President may not lower or raise the duty by more than 50 per cent. The high Hawley-Smoot Tariff rates of 1930 made up the general tariff schedule which is used in bargaining to reduce barriers.

The Act has been extended by Congress every two or three years. The 1945 amendment granted the President the right to alter tariff rates up to 50 per cent of the duties existing at that time.

In 1949 and again in 1951, Congress insisted upon the escape clause which states that if any past reduction in our duties should threaten

to harm American producers, the tariff concession may be suspended. The peril-point clause is another safeguard currently in effect. This principle provides that if the President reduces a duty to a point that the Tariff Commission considers may involve harmful effects to American business, he must report his reasons to Congress.

In the summer of 1953 the Trade Agreements Act was extended for one year. In that connection, many suggestions have been made in regard to tariffs and the dollar gap. At the Annual Convention of the Export Managers Club of New York, Mr. David Rockefeller stressed the fact that this country has less economic justification than others for trade barriers. Practically all economists will agree with this, and some may want to add that the reciprocal program should be scrapped, and that the President should be allowed to reduce duties unilaterally whenever we have a large export surplus during a period of high level employment.

The Detroit Board of Commerce and Henry Ford II have advocated free trade. Less drastic suggestions have been made by the Committee for Economic Development, and very moderate suggestions in the direction of freer trade have been made by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the National Association of Manufacturers and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

To counteract the free trade proposals advocated by Henry Ford II and other prominent business leaders, the National Labor-Management Council on Foreign Trade held a meeting in Washington late in March at which 125 representatives of organizations which employ more than 4½ million workers attended. There were delegates from firms in the wool, chemical manufacturing, glassware, pottery, and coal industries. One of the major arguments of this group is that a large share of our output is not produced by giant enterprises, but by small production units in a relatively poor competitive position. It may be answered that if we are not to import manufactured goods which are best produced on a small scale, we may as well limit our imports to raw materials and foods.

Another assertion was that freer trade is

particularly desirable among the nations of Europe, but that we already have a mass market and that we should not take the same medicine as Europe. An economist is at his wit's end in trying to imagine how trade can benefit Europe and, I suppose, Canada, but not the United States.

A final and correct statement was that we have already reduced our tariffs greatly. This is, however, not an effective argument against further reductions; rather, we may ask if the deep cuts in tariffs during recent years have proved dangerously disturbing to the American economy. The assertion that close to 60 per cent of the imports enter duty-free may or may not be an indication of a liberal trade policy. If a country has sufficiently high duties on manufactured goods and maintains no duties on raw materials, all of the imports will enter duty-free.

The American Tariff League believes that "continued regulation of . . . foreign trade is necessary," and quotas and other forms of regulation may be desirable "whenever administration of the tariff prevents it from acting effectively or promptly enough to safeguard fair American and foreign producers of like commodities." A speaker at the last annual meeting of the League labelled the constant lowering of tariffs under the Trade Agreements Act an indication of "the revolutionary shift from scientific procedures to the application of purely political policies." The scientific tariff supposedly equalizes high costs here with low costs abroad; in other words, the comparative advantages are wiped out and there is no call for trade. Usually the protectionist proposal is "reasonably" scientific, and some imports are allowed.

In high political quarters, it has been stated that we must protect the living standards of the farmers, the workers, and the business men of America by maintaining reasonable tariffs. This is the old pauper labor argument cropping up again: our producers cannot compete with foreign producers who pay low wages, and protection is needed to prevent our wages from falling. Actually, American wages are high because the productivity of the workers is high, not because of tariffs. If the government steps in and protects industries in which the pro-

ductivity of the workers is relatively low, the real wages of labor will be lower. Over a period of years I have asked college students why they want protection, and I have found that to the majority, the cheap foreign labor argument is more important than all the other protectionist arguments combined.

The other popular argument is that American firms will be forced out of business because of foreign competition. That may well happen, but the great majority of firms has much more to fear from domestic than from foreign competitors; and new inventions within this country may actually wipe out whole industries.

There is a valid argument which was preached during the 1930's, namely that an increase in imports relative to exports at the time of a slump in business conditions will be detrimental to a nation's employment. That, however, is not an active issue in 1953, and there is no reason to believe that a high stable level of protection will be a permanent antidote against unemployment. It is the *change* in the level of protection which affects employment. The Hawley-Smoot Tariff was in large part a depression measure. However, it had little net effect on employment during the prewar decade because of retaliation from abroad in the form of preferential tariffs, quotas, and devaluations.

President Eisenhower has stated his belief in the necessity for freer world trade, but so far we have few specific indications of what he wants to do beyond a general support of the measures in the Trade Agreements Act. He postponed the briar pipe decision, and more important, on April 7 he formally asked Congress for a one year extension of the present act; thus he wants to postpone the bitter debate. The explanation given for the request was that the extension "will provide us the time necessary to study and define a foreign economic policy which will be comprehensive, constructive and consistent with the needs both of the American economy and of American foreign policy."

It is of interest to examine the views of members of the Republican Administration. Mr. John Foster Dulles wrote the foreign affairs plank in the Republican campaign platform in 1952 in which it is stated that: "... we shall press for the elimination of dis-

criminary practices against our exports such as preferential tariffs, monetary license restrictions, and other devices. Our reciprocal trade agreements will be entered into and maintained on a basis of true reciprocity and to safeguard our domestic enterprises and the payrolls of our workers against import competition." Senator E. D. Millikin, who is the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee (the Senate Tariff Committee), was the top man on the committee that planned the whole platform in Chicago.

The Commerce Secretary, Mr. Sinclair Weeks, believes that reductions in tariffs must be considered in terms of their effect on domestic industry. There is probably no disagreement with this attitude, unless it is taken to mean that tariff reductions are not to be made if an American producer feels that competition threatens him in any way. Mr. Weeks clarified his attitude when he went on to state that the present escape clause should be retained. Incidentally, the Congress of Industrial Organizations supports Mr. Weeks on this point after its bitter attack on trade restrictions in general: "the development of a more liberalized trade policy makes even more important the inclusion of . . . the so-called 'escape clause.'"

The President's appointment of Mr. Lewis W. Douglas to head a new study of our foreign economic policy was considered un-Republican by one commentator. His close ties with Britain are not supposed to fit in with the philosophy of powerful Republicans in Congress. The appointment of Mr. Winthrop W. Aldrich as Ambassador to Britain might be attacked in the same fashion.

There are within the Administration strong forces which favor freer trade; but in spite of this, and in spite of the President's handsome pronouncements in favor of the free flow of trade, there is, on the whole, extreme caution and, I believe, little will be done to liberalize the present Trade Agreements Program in 1954.

We can count on Congress to oppose Mr. Eisenhower's (so far) general hints at freer trade, and there will be contempt for the "ruinous" free trade proposals of the Detroit Board of Commerce and Mr. Henry Ford II.

The *New York Times* editorials' promotion of the "meaningful goal" of "trade not aid" will carry little weight. The *Times* has stated that we must go beyond the present Act which is full of restrictions. And it is reassuring to read comments free from the double talk of some of our business, farm and labor groups.

The Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1953 establishes a 17 man bipartisan commission to study this country's foreign economic policy. The commission represents the first fully official group set up to report on all foreign economic relations, and there is reason to believe that the findings will influence the course of future legislation.

Previous to the passage of the 1953 Act the Administration pledged not to initiate new tariff negotiations under the present law. In the past 19 years the law has empowered the President to negotiate tariff reductions with foreign nations. Now, vital negotiations such as a tariff settlement with Japan will have to be postponed. The escape clause and the peril point clause were kept in the Act.

In his report to the president late in August Lewis W. Douglas correctly stated that our trade policies alone might not produce financial balance between the dollar and the sterling, but that it would help substantially. There are a number of weighty determinants of the size of the dollar gap in addition to the selection of dutiable goods and the tariff rates, and in order not to consider the main topic of this article out of proportion to its importance, I shall enumerate the other essential factors.

Congress passed the Customs Simplification Bill last summer. This measure eliminated some of the obstacles and risks in our import trade. However, the vital section of the bill which would have removed much of the uncertainty concerning the import value for tariff purposes was deleted from the final version. The Administration backs a reconsideration of the Buy American Act which, as it stands, adds 25 per cent to the cost of goods bought abroad by the Government.

Maybe we can safely reduce our subsidies to shipping to some extent. Anyway, a review of the military necessity for government aid is desirable. A review of agricultural export subsidies would involve a thorough and politi-

cally painful examination of our whole farm program. NATO supplies might best be bought in the cheapest market, and any aid-money provided for primary goods countries should be spent where it will buy the most instead of being restricted by the present tied loan policy of the Export Import Bank.

There is a responsibility on the part of the deficit countries to avoid inflationary pressures brought about by a reckless fiscal policy, a too liberal credit policy or rapid wage increases. On the other hand, the United States must avoid deflationary pressures since a given percentage decrease in our national income would result in a considerably greater percentage decrease in our imports. High level economic activity affects the imports of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods more than does the tariff.

There are some who brush aside all of the above mentioned factors as relatively unimportant because by devaluing the deficit currencies we can bring about equilibrium and the dollar gap will be closed. This may be done, but it will be an unwise measure if we proceed to protect our domestic production by making use of the peril point and escape clause provisions, impose quotas, provide subsidies, etc. It will turn into a hectic race between devaluation and protection. There is reason to believe that a devaluation will be needed in some countries, but this method is desirable only if it is resorted to together with the other eco-

nomic remedies. Finally, the development of free, multilateral exchange, which is the requisite for free multilateral trade, depends upon the building up of larger and more liberally used reserves than the Monetary Fund or the European Payments Union provide for.

In his inaugural address, the President recognized "economic health as an indispensable basis of military strength and the free world's peace" and he said that the United States should practice "policies that encourage productivity and profitable trade." I agree with these statements and I believe that the independence of spirit all through the free world depends upon a chance for every country to earn its own living. The much needed dollars should preferably be earned by exports to the United States, not received as gifts. In a full employment armament economy, an outflow of grants will be inflationary and it will reduce the standard of living in the exporting country; on the other hand, an increase in imports will be anti-inflationary and will improve the standard of living. The total production in the free world will be at its optimum when each region produces those commodities which can be made cheapest in that region. It is essential to prove that the Polish speaker at the Economic Commission for Europe meeting in March was wrong when he claimed that it was futile for Western Europe to try to expand the American market because of subsidies, the peril point and other protective measures.

The Africa Unit

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Almost without exception the average public school teacher is free of intentional bias. Yet the teaching of various ethnic and national groups still leaves much to be desired. There are value judgments, emphases on superficial differences, signs of ethnocentrism and other unsound intercultural practices. The "we" and "they" attitude prevails, and unlike cultural patterns are treated either patronizingly, with derision, or with open contempt.

Little is mentioned concerning cultural contributions other than our own. No effort is made to offset unhealthy stereotypes. In the case of Africa, the entire continent is presented in the sole framework of howling savages and dense jungle. Nothing on its history, and tradition is presented, as though it were devoid of a historical past as well as a modern present or a possible future.

There are approximately 180 million people

in Africa. It covers roughly twelve million square miles of territory. If one were to fly from New York to the most distant point on that continent, it would take about 30 hours. All of the countries in Africa have representation in the United Nations. In 1948, we did \$1,200,000 worth of trade with them and the volume has increased substantially since then. There are 1800 African Negro students in our colleges.

What do 251 fourth graders in New York City know about this vast area? They were asked to put in writing what they knew. If they knew nothing, they were told that they might say so, and no penalty would be imposed. They were, in other words, asked to write "a composition." They were not to worry about spelling and grammar, but were just to write down all the things they learned in their "Africa Unit." They were given all the time they desired—most took about 20 minutes, the usual length of time devoted to an assignment of this sort.

Of the 251, only four wrote; "I do not know anything about Africa" (or some other equally forthright statement). The rest wrote willingly, and expressed with varying degrees of skill, what they "knew" about Africa. Through this simple device, what they "knew," or thought they knew, became clear. Moreover, they were generally quite emphatic or specific about what they wrote. One other interesting thing; although the children had been taught by some ten different teachers in an equal number of schools, there was a remarkable element of similarity in what they wrote. Further, and perhaps more important, there were surprisingly uniform generalizations showing the crystallization of unfortunate intercultural attitudes.

In short, the 251 papers revealed much. The revelation was a sharp indictment of our failures in the realm of sound intercultural practices and of our weaknesses in teaching about other cultures.

First, to turn to what our children "know" on the factual side:

"Africans are black people who live in the Congo and are called 'natives.' They don't wear clothes. They fish and hunt animals with spears

and kill them too. At the end of the hunt they feast and dance. There are lions and tigers in Africa. We have pictures of Africa (*sic*) people. They love jewelry and wear long things in their ears. They sell ivory to the white man and get salt in exchange which they eat like candy. They live in huts and sleep on the floor. The white man taught them to read."

This one child has given a rather composite picture of all of the papers. More interesting is the study of all of the compositions taken together.

Outstanding was the emphasis on differences. The words "strange" or "different" were used one or more times in 204 of the 251 compositions, this in addition to difference being implied many times in all of the compositions. Often the expressions of difference were direct:

"The Africa people are very different. . . ."

"They have different color from us. . . ."

"They have different kind of things. . . . not like ours. . . ."

"They speak a different language. . . ."

"Africa (*sic*) boys and girls are different. . . ."

"They eat a different kind of food. . . ."

(However, this child added, logically: "They eat what is around them; we eat what is around us.")

One child's letter to an imaginary friend in "Congoland" began:

"You see I am very different from you. . . ."

More often the difference is implied:

"They have no toys. . . ."

"There is no furniture. . . ."

"'Congo radio' is a big piece of log hollowed out and open at one end. . . ." (This on sixteen of the compositions).

"We buy our food in stores. . . ."

"We have cars and busses. . . ."

"In summer we go to the beach. . . ."

The choice and constant repetition of certain words is interesting to the semantically inclined. In all of the compositions, the people living in Africa are referred to as "natives." This term appears to be one of inferiority as well as the cause of some confusion.

"In Africa there are funny people. They are called 'natives.' . . ."

"Natives live in Africa. . . ." (on 23 papers).

"The people who live in the jungle are natives. . . ."

"The people who live in Africa are called natives. . . ."

"In America we know them ('the black people of Africa') as 'natives.' . . ."

It is also interesting that generally the word is capitalized. There was no evidence in any paper that the children knew that there could be "natives" in the U.S., or any other place for that matter.

Another word that constantly recurred was the term "hut." The word "house" was used on but one paper:

"Their house is really a hut. . . ."

Nearly all of the papers described these huts. They were uniformly primitive, made of grass, sticks, straw or mud.

Contrasts and unfavorable comparisons played a prominent part in most of the compositions. Many were not as direct as the children who wrote:

"The Congo people are not so smart as we are. . . ."

"They can't speak our language, they have to use signs. . . ."

Usually the contrast is implicit:

"They have no stores and schools. . . ."

"They don't have electric (*sic*) . . ."

"They are not like our city. . . ."

"They travel by dugouts. . . ." (in 31 papers).

"Their music is strange noises from hollow reeds. . . ."

"They do not sleep on mattresses, but spread leaves on the floor. . . ."

"In our country we live in houses. . . ."

"When white men go through the jungle it is called a safari. . . ."

Violence played a prominent role in several of the compositions. There were:

"... furriocious (*sic*) animals... who would kill you. . . ."

Most of the papers told of the hunting, the instruments of death, "spears," "poison darts," "big knives," "bows and arrows."

"The Negroes have many weapons. . . ."

"The natives live close together so the animals won't attack. . . ."

"The Negroes fight each other. . . ."

"They fight with other tribes. . . ." (on 14 papers).

"The natives shoot guns. . . ."

"They (the animals) are bad and will kill you. . . ."

"The Negroes go hunting to kill animals. . . ."

"There are mosquitoes and other disease-carrying insects. . . ."

"There are snakes and crocodiles in the swamps. . . ."

"They kill monkeys, they love monkey meat. . . ."

"They love great chunks of elephant meat. . . ." (meat is always in "chunks," never slices).

"Hippotamus (*sic*) meat to them tastes like roast beef to us. . . ."

"They kill tigers and do skiry (*sic*) dances. . . ."

"The wild animals will kill you in the jungle. . . ." (animals are generally "wild" and are in the "jungles" or "swamps," never "forests").

Other than the killing or fighting, suggestions of immorality were confined largely to the manner of dress (or undress). Of the 251 papers, 237 made some reference to clothing or lack of it, generally the latter. Only seven made mention of the hot weather in this connection.

Ignorance or stupidity was suggested in several of the papers. Nearly half of them commented on African inability to do one thing or another, generally to read and write, (though several pointed out that "white men taught them to read and write"). Several children commented on "trading with the white man"—salt or trinkets in exchange for ivory. A few wrote:

"They were made slaves. . . ."

"They have no good boat or equipment. . . ."

"They worship witch doctors. . . ."

Inferior taste in dress was noted in several papers:

"They wear nothing but sometimes beads and ribbons. . . ."

"They wear big things in their ears. . . ."

"They wear a thing like a skirt. . . ."

"They don't have shoes. . . ."

"They have a ring in their nose. . . ."

"They love bright colors. . . ." (31 papers).

"They wear much jewelry. . . ." (mention of jewelry in about half the papers).

One paper referred to their "filth," five said they were "very dirty." Disorder and lack of cleanliness was implied in several papers.

In dealing with the geographical location, several referred to the "dark continent" "very far away" (27 papers) "under Europe." Travel and distance was still in terms of Livingstone, and eleven papers described Livingstone's sixteen-year absence.

There was occasional open hostility:

"They have no good brave men. . . ."

"They kill and eat people. . . ."

Very few papers commented favorably on the Africans in any way:

"The natives are friendly. . . ." (2 papers).

"They are good hunters. . . ." (5 papers).

Many of the traditional stereotypes were given:

"They love bright colors. . . ."

"They love trinkets and much jewelry. . . ."

"They are superstitious. . . ."

"They sing and dance a lot. . . ."

"They are able to do much work. . . ."

One paper told of African belief in ghosts, another told of their love of corn bread and skill in picking cotton.

Several of the children commented on the physical attributes of the Africans:

"They are very black. . . ."

"The natives are in the black race. . . ." (20 papers).

"They have dark skin. . . ."

"They are a strong kind of people. . . ."

"They can stand heat up to 190° F. . . ."

"They have a funny kind of hair. . . ."

"They have short black hair. . . ."

"The woman's hair is like the man's. . . ."

"The black natives have a kind of curly hair. . . ."

"The monkeys and people love bananas. They both climb the trees for coconuts. . . ."

The reason for the vast amount of misunderstanding, distortion and misinformation is mainly rooted in the prevalent insensitivity or indifference to sound intercultural practices, even though these are well-known to practically every modern teacher. Africa is still being taught in terms of Livingstone and Stanley. It is still regarded as one, big, homogeneous mass of jungle wholly primitive and largely un-

known. African occupations consist solely of hunting, fishing and "trading with the white man." There are no signs of civilization, no schools, no homes as we know them, no domestication of animals, no means of transportation other than by dugout canoe. Recreation consists of tribal rites, feasts, dancing, drum beating and mystic ceremonies. Interest is focused solely on the bizarre and exotic.

The writer has witnessed lessons of this kind. One enters the classroom, and hanging in the corner is the ubiquitous caricature of an African head made of a coconut. One glances at the humor in a magazine for students. There is a comic drawing of two natives and the traditional bound missionaries. The caption reads: "Like them cooked in their jackets, dear?"

The walls are decorated with pictures from a widely-read magazine of geography which seems to limit all its pictures of Africa to the exotic, primitive and bizarre. One never sees in any classroom pictures depicting modern or urban Africa.

We recall that on one occasion, in introducing the unit on "Congoland," the teacher began by observing "A lot of people in Congoland have relatives here." Some of the 4th graders glanced at their Negro schoolmates. Later on, in this same class, the children were asked to rise and "say where your ancestors came from." There was Russia, Puerto Rico, Ireland, Sweden, Rumania, Italy. The colored child rose and said: "North Carolina."

In a unit of such intercultural overtones, it is highly advisable to paint as sympathetic a picture as possible. Similarities should be emphasized rather than differences. Do all Africans live in "huts"? If so, why? What is a "hut"? Do people other than Africans live in "huts"?

In one classroom, the teacher went to great pains to tell of dugout canoes. Then she asked: "How do African ways of travel differ from ours?" It is unsound interculturally to always compare unfavorably. On these 251 papers, there was not the slightest suggestion of there being anything in the African mode of life that was as good as ours or even as appropriate for them. For an assignment, the children were told to "write a friendly letter to Congoland."

Write about the things we have that they don't have," added the teacher.

At a time when we are trying to discourage white (or any racial) superiority, it is unwise to make so much of the fact that "the savage Africans were taught to read and write by the white man." Did the white man learn anything from the African? This might provide a fine opportunity to go back further in history to a time when dark people were teaching whites to read, were inventing writing and a mathematical system, as well as that most important contribution to future industrialization, the smelting of iron. The teacher should be aware of the indebtedness of the Greco-Roman culture to colored peoples, and later in Europe their role in preserving it (circa 9th century A.D.).

Even in the early grades, children are old enough to be told that all cultures have at one

time been great, all cultures have had their successes and failures, faults and virtues. Perhaps teachers themselves have to learn that we must no longer judge other cultures solely by the criteria of our own ethical standards. From the beginning, we must build democratic attitudes and encourage critical thinking. The atomic age has made this new approach to teaching essential. Misconceptions, harmful stereotypes, legend and folklore, must be eliminated in the interest of a strong and peaceful future world.

At the conclusion of the Africa unit, one child was heard telling another:

"Next we have Holland; we've had Africa. . . ."

And so they had. But the limited, stereotyped, superficial, story-book Africa will provide them with poor equipment to meet the one world of the future.

The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

Murrell Dobbins Vocational-Technical School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

THE USE OF PUPIL CURRENT EVENTS PAPERS AND MAGAZINES IN LOCATING AND GATHERING INFORMATION¹

The Role of Periodical Literature in Our Democracy

When the printed word first became a reality, people hailed it as the eradicator of ignorance among men and as the foundation stone for freedom and liberty. We have since learned that the printed word can confuse as well as enlighten, shackle as well as liberate the mind. Literacy, to be an effective guardian of democracy, implies not merely an ability to read, but the capacity to read intelligently, which means being able "to read between the lines" with all the connotations implied in this expression.

Democracy flourishes on enlightenment. Dictatorship thrives on ignorance. It is a peculiar

trait of the human mind that, under the influence of the printed (or spoken) word, it can either be enlightened or befogged, freed or chained.

America, it is said, is a nation of magazine readers. Among the vast array of periodicals that compete for the mind's eye are those of high literary quality, the strictly news magazine which nonetheless editorializes, the pictorial magazines, the large number of pulp magazines, and the "comic book" magazine. These magazines can be read for enlightenment, for pleasure, for information (of the right and wrong kind), for inspiration, or just to pass away the time. Whatever the motive which prompts their reading, there is a resulting conditioning influence on the mind of the reader.

Expressions like the following are not uncommon: "Why, I have read in the *Readers Digest* that . . ." or,

"*Life* carried an article which proves . . ."

¹ This is the first of several articles on social studies skills. Portions of this material will appear in the 1953 Year Book of the National Council for Social Studies, *Development of Skills Through The Social Studies*.

The more intellectual quote *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Fortune*, or *Harper's*. Although few people use the comic strip and comic book as an authority, we are all aware of the comic strip influence (good and bad) in our life today. "Li'l Abner," "Joe Palooka," "Little Orphan Annie" and "Dick Tracy" are not to be discounted in their influence in molding the American intellect.

Desired Pupil Outcomes

Pupil outcomes, in terms of abilities, attitudes, appreciations and skills, to be derived from the use of current events papers and periodicals, are in many respects similar to those associated with any reading material. However, the wide use of magazines in our culture makes it extremely important that definite attention be given in school to realizing these outcomes. It should be evident, of course, that the maturity of the student will determine to what extent specific outcomes can be stressed in the different grade levels. The following are suggested outcomes that might be expected:

1. Ability to select, locate, and gather information from current publications.
2. Ability to distinguish between fact, opinion, and propaganda in current periodical literature.
3. Ability to think rationally.
4. Intelligent use of leisure time, personally gratifying and socially useful, through an enlarged interest in magazines.
5. Appreciation and enjoyment of good writing in current publications.
6. Awareness of the power of the printed word.
7. Intelligent discrimination in the use of magazines.
8. Ability to skim for highpoints.
9. Ability to use *Readers' Guide To Periodical Literature*.
10. Ability to prepare an annotated bibliography of periodicals.

Suggested Pupil Activities

The use of pupil current events papers and regular magazines as sources of information not available in books has long been an acceptable practice in most schools. It is, naturally, the responsibility of the teachers of the various grade levels to select for their students the publications whose reading difficulty and ma-

turity of treatment is directed to the particular grade and maturity level of their students. Publishers of school papers have themselves undertaken the responsibility of grading their publications. In addition they employ on their staffs experienced teachers who prepare various techniques and approaches for the use of these school publications. In the last several years, a few of the regular magazines, like *Readers Digest*, *Time* and *Newsweek* have been providing teaching aids with their publications to promote their use in the schools.

In addition to the techniques and teaching aids suggested by the publications themselves, there are a considerable number of suggested pupil and class activities that teachers might find useful. These are:

1. Survey of pupil interest in current magazines.
 - a. Have students list the names of the different magazines they are familiar with or are in the habit of reading.
 - b. Have them write a brief statement (one or two sentences) on what they like about each magazine.
 - c. Read student reports in class.
 - d. List all magazines on blackboard.
 - e. List on blackboard the different values obtained from magazine reading, as expressed by students. Suggested values: enjoyment; obtain information; learn about other people and countries; learn how to do things.
2. Survey of representative types of current events papers and periodicals.
 - a. Assign pupils to read (in school, library, or at home) several papers and magazines of a selected list (see below).

CURRENT EVENTS PAPERS AND PERIODICALS

[by grade level—E. (elementary), J. (junior high school), S. (senior high school), C. (college)]

CURRENT EVENTS PAPERS

J. S. C. — *American Observer*

E. J. S. — *Current Events*

S. — *Every Week*

S. — *Junior Review*

J. S. — *Junior Scholastic*

E. — *My Weekly Reader*

.. (6th grade levels)

S. C. — *Our Times*

- S. — *Senior Scholastic*
- E. J. — *Story Parade*
- E. J. — *Uncle Ray's Magazine*
- S. — *Weekly News Review*

MAGAZINES

- J. S. C. — *National Geographic*
 - S. C. — *New Republic*
 - S. C. — *Newsweek*
 - J. S. C. — *Readers Digest*
 - S. C. — *Saturday Evening Post*
 - S. — *Seventeen*
 - S. C. — *Time*
 - S. C. — *United States News and World Report*
 - S. C. — *Atlantic Monthly*
 - J. S. — *Boys Life*
 - S. C. — *Coronet*
 - S. C. — *Current History Magazine*
 - S. C. — *Fortune*
 - S. C. — *Harper's Magazine*
 - E. — *Jack and Jill*
 - S. C. — *Life*
 - S. C. — *Ladies' Home Journal*
 - S. C. — *Look Magazine*
- b. Have students report on the following for each magazine.
 - 1) Name
 - 2) Major interest of the magazine: kinds of articles—news, literary, home and family, travel.
 - 3) Reading difficulty: difficult, average, easy. List all words not understood.
 - 4) Attitude towards controversial issues: objective or biased.
 - c. Read papers in class and discuss.
 - d. Make chart on blackboard, based on student reports and discussion, indicating the following: Name of Magazine, Major Interest, Degree of Difficulty, Attitude Toward Controversial Issues.
3. Developing broad interest in magazine reading.
 - a. Assign each student to read one or more articles a week from a different magazine.
 - b. Assign superior students to read several "quality" magazines, like *Atlantic Monthly*, *Fortune* and *Harper's*.
 - c. Have each student prepare a brief but well written paper on each article, containing the following:
 - 1) Author (if any).
 - 2) Title of article.
 - 3) Name of magazine.
 - 4) Date.
 - 5) Brief comment: what the article is about; author's point of view.
 4. Reading pupil current events papers in preparation for a panel discussion.
 - a. Select a topic that is well treated in a pupil current events paper.
 - b. Have students read the article at home or in class.
 - c. Select a panel of 6 - 8 students. Have panel members meet for a few minutes to select points or questions about the article they would discuss.
 - d. Have each class member prepare one or more questions to be asked of the panel.
 - e. Follow with panel discussion.
 5. Learning about geography through current events papers.
 - a. Have pupils make a list of the names of countries and cities mentioned in one or more of the articles.
 - b. Call upon students to locate places upon the wall map in the classroom.
 - c. Have students write a brief statement about the current interest value of the places mentioned.
 6. Enlarging students' vocabulary.
 - a. Have students list all words they do not understand which appear in the current events paper or magazine article assigned for reading.
 - b. Have them find meanings from the dictionary, textbook, or other sources.
 - c. Discuss meaning of words in class.
 - d. Have a periodic vocabulary quiz.
 - e. Have students keep a record of the number of new words every month. This material may be presented in graphic form.
 7. Interpreting cartoons.
 - a. Have students bring in cartoons.
 - b. Fold or remove legends and ask students to explain the meaning of the cartoons.
 - c. Select certain topics of current interest and ask students to draw cartoons to illustrate them.
 8. Learning how to use the *Readers' Guide To Periodical Literature*.
 - a. Have students examine (in the school

library) copies of *Readers' Guide*, noting the following items:

- 1) The list of magazines in the front of each issue.
- 2) Abbreviations.
- 3) How magazine articles are classified (by author and by title).

b. Have students prepare a bibliography from the *Readers' Guide* on:

- 1) A suggested list of topics of recent or current interest.
- 2) A suggested list of personalities of recent or current public fame.

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mt. Vernon, New York

FREE MATERIALS

If you need a large wall map of Korea, send to Rand, McNally and Company, 111 Eighth Ave., New York 11, N. Y. Their new map of Korea, printed in four colors and measuring 26 x 36 inches, is priced at 50 cents per copy.

The opaque projector can be of great help to teachers in their work. Information about this audio-visual tool, and a series of bulletins on Opaque Projection Practices will be forwarded free if you will write to Charles Beseler Co., 60 Badger Ave., Newark 8, N. J.

The Pan-American Coffee Bureau, 120 Wall St., New York 5, New York, an organization under the sponsorship of ten Latin-American nations, will supply free to teachers, booklets, student manuals, wall charts, and leaflets pertaining to coffee.

The Institute for American Democracy, 212 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y. has a series of colorful wall posters stressing democracy, human rights, and sound inter-group relations. They are called "Freedom — Stalin Style." There is a nominal charge for them.

FILMS

225,000,000-Mile Proving Ground. 19 min. Color. Free-Loan. Princeton Film Center, Inc., Princeton, N. J.

Tells the story of how America's vast railroad network keeps up to maximum efficiency through continued research, invention, and investment.

New Horizons. 18 min. Black and white. Sound. Free-Loan. Princeton Film Center, Inc., Princeton, N. J.

Shows tremendous strides that have taken place in the South in the fields of education, recreation, agriculture, and especially in industry.

The Magic of Coal. 18 min. Black and white. Sound. Free-Loan. Princeton Film Center, Inc., Princeton, N. J.

A factual account of how coal is mined, and brought to usefulness for the consumer.

The Mohammedan World: Beginnings and Growth. 1 reel. Sound. Color, or B & W. Sale or rental. Coronet Films, 65 E. South Water St., Chicago, Ill.

Reviews the history of the Mohammedan way of life and its impact on western culture.

Meaning of Elections. 1 reel. Sound. Color. B & W. Sale or Rental. Coronet Films.

Shows the concepts of equality, the relationship of the elected official to his constituency, the importance of citizens voting, the operation of election machinery, and the necessity for people to strive continually to improve their election system.

College: Your Challenge. 1 reel. Sound. Color. B & W. Sale or rental. Coronet Films.

Depicts the benefits of college, both academic and non-academic, which high school students may expect.

Robert E. Lee. A Background Study. 1½ reels. Sound. Color. B & W. Sale or rental. Coronet Films.

A good study of Lee as a Virginian, devout Christian, and beloved commander.

Community Governments: How They Function. 1½ reels. Sound. Color. B & W. Sale or rental. Coronet Films.

The purpose of this film is to emphasize the need for a participating citizenry if good government is to function.

Geography of the Middle Atlantic States. 1 reel. Sound. Color. B & W. Sale or rental. Coronet Films.

Bustling cities, key industries, vast transportation networks and a dense population are some of the characteristics of the Middle Atlantic States.

Jordan Valley. 19 min. Sound. B & W. Sale, rental. International Film Bureau, Inc., 57 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

This is a study of the Jordan Valley today . . . herdsmen, shepherds, farmers, reed-mat weavers, salt workers, and fishermen.

The Falkland Islands. 1 reel, 10 min. Color. Sale or rental. British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y., N. Y.

Scenes of the islands, people, their way of living, and capital city, Stanley.

Royal Destiny. 2 reels. 20 min. B & W. Sound. Sale or rental. British Information Services.

Depicts the life of Queen Elizabeth II from early childhood to the present.

FILMSTRIPS

Then and Now . . . In the Rocky Mountains
On the Great Plains
In California
In the Pacific Northwest
In the Southwest
Between the Western
Mountains

Like the first twelve of the series, *Then and Now in the U. S.*, the strips are all in color. Each usually has 40 frames. The frames are organized into a logical sequence that tells the

story of how we have used the natural resources of each region, relating the past and the present. Silver Burdett Co., 45 E. 17 St., N. Y., N. Y.

African Development in Southern Rhodesia. 25 frames. Guide. Sale. British Information Services.

Changes since white settlers went there.

Canada: A Nation Grows. 55 frames. Sale. N. Y. Times Educ. Div., New York Times, Times Sq., N. Y., N. Y.

Outlines importance of Canada to the U. S. and the rest of the world.

Suez Canal. 60 frames. Sale. Life Filmstrips, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y., N. Y.

A complete pictorial history, with maps, charts, and photographs of this vital 102-mile waterway.

Government in Action. Set of 8. Each about 55 frames. Color. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Ill.

Designed to explain clearly the organization and work of our national, state, and local governments, and of the United Nations.

President
Federal Courts
State Govt.
Municipal Govt.
Congress
Executive Dept.
Local Govt.
United Nations

Powers of the President. 58 frames. Sale. New York Times.

From Washington's first administration to recent candidates; electing a president; his duties, advisors, checks and balances.

News and Comment

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Stagecoach Trails

Young television viewers usually associate stagecoaches and stagecoach trails exclusively with the Wild West. Many do not know that stagecoaches used to transport travelers and

mail from Boston to New York. Three different major routes between the two cities were used. (Fenton, John: "Stagecoach Trails," *New York Times*, Sunday, August 23, 1953, p. X 19). The stagecoaches covered in two days of

hard driving the same distance that an automobile can travel in one hour.

Some of the inns catering to travelers in the twentieth century are built on the sites of those where the stagecoaches stopped for food and lodging for both passengers and horses. Some of these old inns were the Eagle Coffee House in Concord, New Hampshire, and the Wayside Inn at Sudbury, Massachusetts.

In the early nineteenth century, Concord was the place where Lewis Downing, his son and J. Stephen Abbot constructed the coaches for Buffalo Bill and for Wells Fargo and Company. An old coach is on permanent display in the Boston and Maine Railroad Depot in that city.

Children's Television Programs

From time to time indignant parents and teachers decry the gangster horrors and crime films that children see on the television programs. A recent protest against them was made in the September, 1953, issue of the *American Legion Magazine* (Inglis, Ruth A.: "Can the Kids Take T.V.?")

The author of this article recommends that if a parent wishes to object to an offensive program he should write to the

Television Code Review Board,
National Association of Radio and
Television Broadcasters,
1771 N. Street, N.W.,
Washington 6, D. C.

giving the day, hour and name of the show and describing specifically what he considers offensive.

This criticism should be sent to the station involved. If no improvement is noted by the complainant, he should write again, sending a copy of his letter to the Federal Communications Commission in Washington, D. C. The latter cannot censor programs but it renews broadcasting licenses and maintains files of adverse criticisms. These are embarrassing to the stations involved which are legally responsible to operate in the public interest.

Miss Inglis also advises writing directly to the president of the company sponsoring the undesirable program.

In this commentator's opinion, parent-teacher councils can be helpful in raising the level of TV programs for children. Organized protests are more effective than those made by

individuals. When the Federal Communications Commission holds hearings for renewal of licenses the parent-teacher educational councils may be heard.

A positive approach toward improving children's television programs is being taken by without being urged to do so by their parents. Burgess Meredith who is planning to offer desirable programs which will be so attractive to children that they will want to see them. This enterprise should be watched with sympathetic interest as a step in the right direction.

Versatile Thomas Jefferson

The versatility of Thomas Jefferson, his skill as an architect, engineer and inventor can be partially appreciated by a visit to the University of Virginia, a noble example of Jeffersonian architecture in Charlottesville, Virginia, and by a trip to nearby Monticello. The delightful trips she made to both places were recalled with pleasure by this commentator as she was reminded of them by Charles W. White's illustrated article, "Jefferson Gadgets" (*New York Times*, Sunday, August 23, 1953 p. X 13).

Thomas Jefferson planned his home and its equipment for beauty, convenience and labor- and time-saving. Some of his inventions mentioned by Mr. White are his elevator bed, the lazy Susan arrangement in the door between dining room and kitchen which moved platters with a twirl of the hand, the dumb-waiter for bringing up food and wine to the dining room without change in temperature and his four-sided hinged and folding music stand (for Jefferson was a violinist in addition to his other accomplishments). His weathervane is extended by means of a device that comes through the roof and shows wind direction on the ceiling of the porch.

Monticello, although a century and a half old is modern in feeling. Jefferson appreciated the value of labor-saving devices as much as any American living at the present time and had the genius to invent a great many of them.

The visit to Monticello gave this commentator much greater satisfaction and greater understanding and appreciation of the way some people lived in the early Federal period than did a visit to a restoration like Williamsburg, although the latter is not without considerable value.

English Taught by Film

Anthropologists from Cornell University on the Navaho Reservation at Fruitland, New Mexico, were faced with the problem of how to teach English to Indians who cannot even read their own language. (*New York Times*, Sunday, August 30, 1953, p. 91)

The Navaho Indians need to speak English in order to shop, to talk to Government agents, to listen to the radio, and to hold jobs off the reservation.

The Cornell scientists solved the problem by making movies in Fruitland which showed every day scenes and procedures. These were correlated with tape-recorded dialogue in Navaho and English. In this way the Indians learned the vocabulary and the speech they needed in their daily work—an example of functional learning to meet a felt need!

Foreign Service Examinations

Although the notice of the Foreign Service Examination of the United States State Department to be given September 14-17, 1953 was received too late to notify the readers of THE SOCIAL STUDIES, the information about

preparing for them (*Social Science*, June, 1953) may be helpful for next year.

George Washington University conducts a summer course, annually, from June 15 through August 21st in preparation for the State Department examinations which are given in September.

"The Review Course is an intensive review of the fields covered in the Foreign Service Examination, which include American history, principles of economics, English composition, reading comprehension, general statistics, geography, international affairs, American government, European history, and contemporary affairs. In addition, special conferences are held on subjects that cannot be adequately reviewed in class. No language review is given. . . .

"Tuition for the Course is \$200, . . . Only those who have been authorized by the Department of State to take the written Foreign Service Examination may enroll in the Course. Further information may be secured from the Director, Foreign Service Review Course, School of Government, The George Washington University."

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

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Henri Comte de Saint-Simon. Selected Writings. Edited and Translated by F. H. M. Markham. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. Pp. lxix, 116. \$2.00.

Outside France the name of St.-Simon is not particularly well known. Chaotic, and comparatively inaccessible, his writings have not been so influential as they might otherwise have been. Yet they have attracted the attention of men such as John Stuart Mill, Comte, and Marx, as well as that of Carlyle, who translated *Nouveau Christianisme*. This was not published and the manuscript has disappeared. However, his influence on St.-Simonian circles in France, and upon the early Russian radicals,

should entitle him to a prominent place in the history of political thought in the 19th century.

Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint Simon, was a son of the Marquis de Sandri-court, lieutenant-general of the French army under Louis XIV. He entered the army as a second lieutenant in 1777, and in 1779 sailed with Rochambeau to join Lafayette in the American War of Independence.

Always making plans for human betterment, St.-Simon in 1785 was working with the Spanish minister of finance on a project for connecting Madrid with the Guadalquivir and the Atlantic. Two years earlier he had suggested to the viceroy of Mexico a scheme for a canal to join the Atlantic and the Pacific. Sometimes,

be it said, dreams of St.-Simon came true. It may have been that, like many other philosophically-minded men, St.-Simon was too far in advance of his age to be fully appreciated by his own generation.

Under the pressure of the French Revolution, St.-Simon renounced his title and took the surname of Bonhomme. Afterward he attempted to minimize his part in that upheaval, writing in 1808:

"I did not wish to take part in it, because, on the one hand, I was convinced that the *Ancien Regime* could not be prolonged, and, on the other hand, I had an aversion to destruction."

Apparently, under the circumstances, he had no aversion to a little speculation. For this purpose, he formed a partnership with the Saxon Baron de Redern.

About this time, St.-Simon was arrested. The actual report of his arrest has been found, and it is clear that the philosopher was mistaken for a Belgian, a Henry Simon.

The year 1798 marks a turning point in the life of St.-Simon. Thenceforth he would be philosophically engaged. The transition was all the easier because his associate had become dissatisfied with the partnership. Someone has said St.-Simon was "incapable of organizing anything but the future."

Augustin Thierry became St.-Simon's secretary and collaborator in 1814. Now, for the first time, St.-Simon's ideas were first presented in orderly form. His *Re-Organization of European Society* was the book which in two editions attracted general attention. St.-Simon continued writing, but in 1817 Thierry parted from him, being unable longer to endure his anti-liberal and authoritarian trend. His place was taken by Auguste Comte. His contemptuous references to the Bourbon princes brought St.-Simon into unfavorable notice in connection with the murder of the Duc de Berry. His acquittal soon followed, however.

St.-Simon was likely to brood over misfortunes with the thought of suicide. Now he tried to commit self-destruction, using a pistol charged with eight slugs. He survived with the loss of one eye.

As did Agassiz at a later date, St.-Simon contended that there is not necessarily any conflict between science and religion. Truth is

truth, and religion should gain from the scientific method. He inquires why the Church has lost the prestige which it once enjoyed. The monk, Roger Bacon, was one of the greatest scientists of the Middle Ages. The Church founded schools, hospitals, asylums, as well as cathedrals, convents, and monasteries. Seemingly, the Church gave up this leadership, relinquishing it to the laity.

What is needed to restore the equilibrium of society is a New Christianity, which, in effect, is the Old Christianity. Christianity has lost its power because it has lost much of its original spirit.

This is a worthwhile volume and it will provide stimulating reading for two or three evenings.

The writings discussed are: *Letters From an Inhabitant of Geneva, Introduction to the Scientific Studies of the 19th Century, Essay on the Science of Man, The Re-organization of the European Community, Letters to an American, The Organizer, New Christianity, On Social Organization.*

J. F. SANTEE

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Factor Analysis: An Introduction and Manual for the Psychologist and Social Scientist. By Raymond B. Catell. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952. Pp. xiv, 462. \$6.00.

Social and biological sciences, as soon as they recover from slavishly imitating the controlled experimentalism of the physical sciences with all its notorious weaknesses, are likely to build a substantial part of their methods and concepts around statistical devices such as factor analysis or analyses of variance. Indeed, the development of factor analysis, as is well known, has proceeded already through psychology, economics, biology, medicine, political science, and cultural anthropology. Factor analysis, moreover, has even ricocheted into the physical sciences, particularly in the fields of electronics and meteorology.

Dr. Raymond B. Catell, in this volume, is attempting to do the spade work in preparation of a new generation of researchers in the areas mentioned. For, with the rapidly increasing application of factor analysis to all kinds of

pure and applied psychological work, there is a felt need for this type of manual. Since it is designed to serve both as an introductory text for undergraduates and graduates in statistics and as a practical handbook for computing processes in the laboratory, it should be sufficient to provide a command of the basic principles and techniques of factor analysis for both psychologists and social scientists.

Dr. Catell is accepted as a leader of research in psychology and social science in both Britain and the United States. As a student of Spearman at the University of London he won two doctorates. Coming to the United States as research associate to Dr. R. L. Thorndike, he later became the G. Stanley Hall professor of psychology at Clark University, Worcester, Mass. Following a brief sojourn at Harvard and a stint in the Adjutant General's Office of Personnel Research during World War II, Catell came to the University of Illinois, where he presently directs the laboratory of Personality Assessment and Group Behavior. He is the author of *A Guide to Mental Testing, General Psychology, Description and Measurement of Personality*, and *Personality: A Systematic Theoretical and Factual Study*.

Factor Analysis, his latest work, is one in Harper's Psychological Series and was prepared under the general editorship of Gardner Murphy.

The presentation is logical, interesting, and, for students of statistics, should be readily assimilated. Catell's aim has been to reduce to simplicity and clarity much of the material now found only in Burt: *Factors of the Mind*, Thompson: *Factorial Analysis of Human Ability*, Holzinger and Harman: *Factor Analysis*, or in Thurstone's *Multiple Factor Analysis*. Needless to say, Catell has streamlined this operation; he does not, for instance, concern himself with proofs for the formulae used, always adhere to technical mathematical modes of presentation, or follow a sequence of mathematical derivation and dependence. He has tried to develop a practical handbook at all points.

The three sections of *Factor Analysis*, I "Basic Concepts," II "Specific Aims and Working Methods," and III "General Principles and Problems" contribute to the functional nature

of his text. To these may be added an excellent Glossary, Bibliography, Indexes, both by name and by subject and a special section, or Appendix, by Miss Mildred Brannon, University of Illinois, Computing Division of Laboratory of Personality Assessment, explaining the "Essential Steps in Matrix Multiplication by Electronic Digital Calculators."

The use of *Factor Analysis* will be, it is judged, facilitated by the liberal sprinkling of diagrams, worked-out illustrative problems, and questions and exercises. If the student, or reader, will do as Dr. Catell suggests and follow these problems carefully, do the exercises, and answer the questions, he can, if he has any considerable ability in the mathematical area, place himself in the position where he can use factor analysis in the study of education or social science trends and/or tendencies. Indeed, it may well be that the educator or social scientist of the future will find that a proper knowledge of factor analysis is indispensable to work on any level above that of the merely reportorial.

KENNETH V. LOTTICK

Willamette University
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Veterans in Politics: The Story of the G.A.R.

By Mary R. Dearing. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1952. Pp. iv, 523. \$6.00.

Contrary to legend the Grand Army of the Republic was organized in part to further the political careers of certain Radical Republicans of Illinois. Politicians in other states quickly grasped its implications and the outcome was the rapid growth of the G.A.R. wherever votes could be garnered by emphasizing Civil War memories. From the beginning, however, most G.A.R. leaders tried to leave the impression that it was a nonpartisan organization. Nevertheless, the G.A.R. was entangled in politics, especially Republican politics. It was used by politicians to obtain votes, and it in turn used politicians when acting as a pressure group seeking rewards for wartime service. It worked for veteran preference in appointive government jobs and for more generous pension legislation and administration. The author wisely avoids categorical statements on the exact extent of veteran influence in election

campaigns and lobbying, but she does make it clear that it was often a very important factor.

Described also is the role the G.A.R. played in defending and furthering economic conservatism and conspicuous patriotism. G.A.R. chapters examined the treatment of the Civil War in history textbooks, fostered flag salute exercises in schools, military drill for youngsters, and Memorial Day programs. It took care of soldiers' widows, supported much needed veterans' hospitals, and organized gatherings where old soldiers found companionship, brotherhood, and a sense of solidarity.

The book is well written and edited. The documentation is very impressive; it abounds in detail, and reflects careful, well-balanced, and restrained judgment on the part of the author. It clearly was not written for the general reader, but for those with a special interest in the subject and for the shelves of libraries assigned to thorough and reliable reference material.

HORACE SAMUEL MERRILL

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Race and Culture Relations. By Paul A. F. Walter, Jr. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1952. Pp. xi, 482. \$5.50.

This is one of a growing number of college textbooks in the field of racial and cultural relations. It has the commendable aim of providing a survey of "group relations" throughout the entire world, rather than confining the discussion to the United States (although the American scene receives more extended treatment than any other). Regrettably, the book is a disappointing one. The basic materials for such a task are patently voluminous. To successfully compress them within the confines of less than 500 pages requires considerable familiarity with these extensive materials, and the ability to "digest" and present them so that the major outlines and issues are always clear. The author of this volume, in contrast, has provided us with rather "thin" and frequently inadequate surveys interspersed with an excessive number of long quotations from other sources. The chapters on Asia, Africa, and Europe are particularly deficient in this respect.

There are numerous questionable interpre-

tations and omissions and a number of factual errors. In a discussion of the important topic of the meaning of race, the most scientifically meaningful interpretation of race as a matter of relative gene frequencies arbitrarily categorized is not delineated. The question of race differences is handled almost entirely summarily with little presentation or consideration of the evidence which would give the conclusions salient meaning for the student. In the section on South Africa, there is no reference to the Asiatic Indians and the "Coloureds" (half-castes), or to current tensions between the Afrikaners and the British, all major factors on the current scene. In the section on the Jews of Europe, the author refers to the alleged "Protocol of the Fathers of Zion" (*sic*) without pointing out that this is a notorious forgery. There is a recurrent equating of the Nordic sub-race with the peoples of Northern, Western, and Central Europe and their descendants, which leads (in a triple error!) to the fantastic statement that "the peoples of the United States and Canada are mostly Nordic European in ancestry, with only slight Indian admixture." (p. 207) The American population at the time of the Revolution is given as 5 million when the 1790 census counted only slightly under 4 million. Africa is listed as an area from which immigrants may come to the United States without quota restrictions. These are samples of errors.

In his overall view of group relations the author seems to confuse objectivity in scientific analysis with unlimited cultural relativity as a desirable attitudinal approach. This fallacious equation is a familiar one and seems destined to plague the social sciences for a long time to come. In line with this approach there is little credit given to reform movements in affecting group relations. These are held to be often "more symptoms than molders of changing accommodations." The author also comes close to taking the highly debatable position that a certain amount of prejudice is necessary as a factor in group morale.

On the positive side, in his causal theory (as far as it goes) regarding prejudice and discrimination, Professor Walter displays a multi-causal and "interaction" approach which is a welcome relief from the single factor emphases, economic or psychoanalytical, which bulk so

large in the field. Unfortunately, however, the many deficiencies in the volume considerably outweigh its merits.

MILTON M. GORDON

Haverford College
Haverford, Pa.

The American System of Government. By John H. Ferguson and Dean E. McHenry. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1953. Pp. xii, 1056. \$6.00.

This is the third edition of a standard text. "Like the first edition, this work . . . deals with national, state and local governments in separate sections. The initial part deals with historical background, general principles, and other essentials" such as population, immigration, citizenship, public opinion, pressure groups, political parties, suffrage, nominations and elections. "The second part includes a discussion of Congress, the presidency, the courts, administrative organization and the Civil Service. A third group of chapters is concerned with federal powers and functions of government. A final section contains a concise treatment [in 152 pages] of state and local governments."

The material is clearly presented. A series of silent filmstrips has been prepared to accompany the book. A *Teacher's Manual* is available to instructors upon request. Appendices include the Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation, Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the moribund United Nations.

In cases of controversial subjects a fair presentation of conflicting points of view has been attempted. This is evident, for example in the handling of material on the Civil Service. Doubtless, the authors could have been more critical of the operations of the Civil Service system on the basis of political influence—it being well established that political pressure is often necessary to qualified applicants for positions, for promotion and even for retention in the Service; but this situation is merely suggested. Again, the authors are charitable when they give superior officers credit for reluctance to dismiss subordinates; for, in this reviewer's experience, they exhibit no hesitation whatever—and removal is not always to "promote the efficiency of said service."

Favoritism, evident over a long period of time, has certainly done more damage to the morale of the Civil Service than the recently instituted "loyalty program" the desirability of which the authors seem to doubt.

If one desires an interpretative text, using the traditional approach, this is the book to choose.

CHARLES ROGER HICKS

University of Nevada
Reno, Nevada

The World in the Twentieth Century. By Geoffrey Brunn. Boston, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath & Co., 1952. Pp. 800. \$5.50.

One of the best texts on world history since 1900 has appeared in a new edition. The revision, for reasons of publishing cost no doubt, is confined to the addition of two chapters (26 pages) which deal principally with the cold war in Europe and the hot war in Asia. Thus brought up to date, the book can continue to serve its many admirers.

HERBERT A. CROSMAN

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

NOTES ON CURRENT BOOKS

Africa. A Study in Tropical Development. By L. Dudley Stamp. New York: John Wiley and Sons Incorporated, 1953. Pp. xxi, 568. \$8.50.

This book reviews the available resources of the entire continent and surveys the obstacles which stand in the way of their full development. It will be valued by all who seek an understanding of current African problems.

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